

THE
British Monarchy,
 OR
 BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
 The LIVES at large
 Of the most EMINENT MEN,
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland
 From the Reign of HENRY VIII to GEORGE II

Both inclusive

Whether by birth, merit, or $\frac{256}{E}$
 Statesmen | Warriors | Poets
 Patriots | Divines | Philosophers

Adorned with (COPPER PLATE)

VOL VII



(L O N D O N)
 Printed by the R A N S S Authority,
 For EDWARD DILLY in the Poultry;

. MDCCCLXII

CONTENTS

OF THE

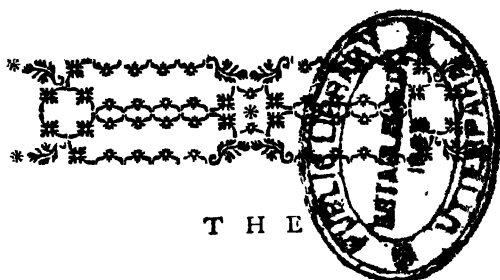
SEVENTH VOLUME.

	Page
G EOERGE MONK, - - - -	1
Edward Hyde, - - - -	21
Anthony Ashley Cooper, - - -	51
James Butler, - - - -	71
John Wilmot, - - - -	148






1st July
A Monk D of Albemarle



T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



T H E L I F E O F
G E O R G E M O N K.

EORGE MONK, duke of Albermarle, the renowned restorer of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdom, was descended of a family settled so early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire, where he was born on the sixth of December, 1608. He was likewise chiefly educated there by his grand-father and god-father Sir George Smith, with whom he mostly resided.

He dedicated himself to arms from his youth, no provision being expected from his father Sir Thomas Monk; whose reduced fortune, however, brought an affront upon him, which was resented by our young warrior in such a spirited manner as obliged him to enter into the service sooner than was intended; which rendered it necessary for him, when not quite seventeen years of age, to enter as a volunteer under his kinsman Sir Richard Greenville, then lying at Plymouth, and just upon setting out under lord Wimbedon, on the ill-concerted, and worse executed, expedition against Spain.

The ill success which attended our young volunteer's first essay, neither damped his courage nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the isle of Rhee and Rochell. From hence he returned at the end of that war in 1628; and the following year, being just then of age, he served as an ensign in the Low-Countries, first under lord Oxford, and then under lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of captain of his own company. In this station he was concerned in several sieges and battles; and, having, in ten years service, by a steady and close application to the duties of his profession, made himself an absolute master of the art military, and become extremely useful to the service, he retired on a disgust given him by the prince of Orange,
and

and returned to his native country just on the breaking out of the first war between king Charles I. and his Scottish subjects.

The captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the earl of Leicester and lady Carlisle, procured him the rank of lieutenant colonel in the regiment belonging to lord Newport; in which post he served in the king's northern expeditions; wherein what little was performed the lieutenant colonel had an ample share in; and, perhaps, it was none of that prince's least misfortunes, that our hero had so small a portion of power and influence at that critical juncture.

The treaty commenced at Rippon, and the summoning a parliament had scarce put an end to the Scotch war, when the horrid Irish rebellion broke out: to quell which, lord Leicester was appointed to succeed the late earl of Strafford, who went with colonel Monk there (that lord having raised him to that post in his own regiment) where he did such considerable service, that the lords-justices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interceding, that authority was vested in another; and soon after, the colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the rest of the forces sent by the marquis of Ormond, on his signing a truce with the Irish rebels, pursuant to the king's orders; which was done on the fifteenth of September, 1643: but, on the colonel's arrival at Bristol, he was met by orders sent both from Ireland and Ox-

ford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Bristol, to secure him till further orders. However, his lordship (on being informed of the unjust suspicions entertained of the colonel, purely for being an officer under the earl of Leicester, who was nominated by the parliament to command the forces raised, and paid by them for the Irish service; and from a fear that he might not willingly enter into a war against those whose pay he received; and being satisfied he had no sort of inclination to side with them) suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his bare parole; where he so fully justified himself to lord Digby, the then secretary of state, that he was by that nobleman introduced to his majesty; but his regiment was given to colonel Warren, who had been his major.

In order to make him amends for this precipitancy, the king raised him to the rank of major-general in the Irish brigade, then commanded by lord Byron, and employed in the siege of Nantwich, in Cheshire; to which post major-general Monk speedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to share in the unfortunate surprisal of that whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a considerable body of the parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from whence he was sent to Hull, amongst the other prisoners, and was in a short time conveyed from thence to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement till the thirteenth of November, 1646;

1646; when, at the solicitation of his kinsman, lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, who, on the marquis of Ormond's declaring for the king, was made deputy of that kingdom, he took the covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command under him in the Irish service, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.

Lord Leicester and the colonel set out on their journey to Ireland on the twenty-eighth of January after; but, as the marquis of Ormond refused obedience to the orders of the parliament, nor would deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command, lord Lisle and his forces were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to do any great matters, and his lordship's commission expiring, on the seventeenth day of April he embarked again for England, together with colonel Monk; who was not long in a state of inactivity, having the command in chief of all the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late colonel Brocket's; whereupon he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfast.

The Scots under the command of major-general Monroe, refusing to join the English in the service of the parliament, colonel Monk was prevented from entering into action so soon as he chose; but being joined by colonel

6 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Jones, he made large amends, and disputed the possession of Ulster very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raise the siege of Londonderry; and by securing the command of forage, and laying waste the country, almost famished his army. He likewise managed so well the tilling and improving those parts in his possession, and was so provident in disposing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Irish war nearly maintain itself. Yet, notwithstanding these small successes, the superiority of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchequin, at the head of the Royalists; and the unconquerable distrust of the Scots, to whom most of his garrison of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the necessity of entering into a treaty with that bold Irish leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to surrender Dundalk to lord Inchequin, and return to England; where he was called to an account by the parliament for having treated with the Irish rebels:---an affront he never forgave.

He was, perhaps, the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received considerable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and the colonel.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without issue male, the family estate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he repaired

it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it

He had scarce settled his private affairs when he was called in to serve against the Scots, who had proclaimed king Charles II. in that kingdom, under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made lieutenant general of the artillery, and had a regiment given him, composed of six companies taken out of Fenwick's, and six out of Hasslerig's. In this post he was extremely serviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar; where personally charging and routing Lower's regiment, he led the way to that compleat victory there obtained by the English forces.

After this victory the lieutenant-general was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moss-troopers; and reducing Darlington, Roswell, Brothwick, and Lintalton, castles, where they used to harbour; he was also concerned in settling the articles for the surrender of Edinburgh castle; and, being left commander in chief in Scotland, at the head of six thousand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England, in pursuit of Charles II. he besieged and took Stirling, and carried Dundee by storm; where he behaved with great cruelty, putting Lunsdale, the governor, and eight hundred men to the sword.

Soon after this, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen having also submitted to him, he was seized

2 BRITISH PLUTARCH:

with a violent fit of illness, which obliged him, in 1652, to have recourse to the bath for his recovery. Returning from whence, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected English commonwealth; which having brought to a successful conclusion, he returned with the others again to London.

The Dutch war having now been carried on for some months, lieutenant-general Monk, on the death of colonel Popham, was joined with the admirals Blake and Dean in the command at sea; in which service he had made his first military essay, as has been before related; and, on the second of June, 1653, he, by his courage and conduct, contributed greatly to the defeat then given to the Dutch fleet, and likewise to the next obtained on the thirty-first of July following.

While general Monk, and the other admirals, were thus triumphing over the nation's enemies, and encreasing the honour of the commonwealth abroad, Cromwell was paving his way to the supremacy at home; which, on the sixteenth of December, 1653, he obtained under the title of protector.

In this capacity he soon concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtained much more favourable terms from him than what the council of state and parliament had appeared willing to grant. General Monk, who lay with
his

his fleet on the Dutch coast, remonstrated so warmly against this peace, and those remonstrances were so well received by Oliver's own (called the Little, or Barebones) parliament; and Monk, on his return, was treated so kindly by them, that Oliver is said to grow jealous of him to that degree, that he closeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other interest; but, on receiving satisfaction from the general on this head, he not only took him into favour, but, on breaking out of fresh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the marquis of Athol, the earl of Glencairne, major-general Middleton, and several more of the nobility and others, had raised forces on the behalf of king Charles II. sent him down there commander in chief, for which post he set out in April, 1654.

Arriving at Leith, he sent colonel Morgan with a large detachment against the Royalists; and, having assisted in proclaiming the protector at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of May, followed himself with the rest of the forces. Through the general's prudent management, this war was finished by August, when he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a seat belonging to the countess of Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh; where he constantly resided during the time, which was five years, that he stayed in Scotland; amusing himself with the pleasures of a rural life, and beloved by the people, though his government was

more absolute than any of their princes had dared to practise.

The war in Scotland being put an end to thus speedily and happily for the protector, he appointed a council of state for that part of his government; consisting of the lord Broghill; general Monk; colonel Howard, created earl of Carlisle after the restoration; colonel William Lockhart; colonel Adrian Scroop; colonel John Whetham; and major-general Desborough; who came to Scotland in September, 1655, and began to exercise their authority, which was very extensive.

The majority of these commissioners (three of whom, lord Broghill, colonel Howard, and colonel Whetham, were afterwards very instrumental in the restoration) concurred with general Monk in almost every thing he proposed; by which means the government of Scotland still remained chiefly in his hands; which, together with his affable behaviour towards the better sort of all parties, made Cromwell begin to entertain some suspicions of him; and, in order to prevent his influence from growing too powerful, the protector used to make frequent changes in the forces under his command, by recalling such regiments as were most trusted by the general, and sending in their room those who were most violent and refractory at home; who gave him much trouble to bring them into order, and make them submit to that discipline which he obliged all under him strictly to observe.

Nor was this distrust entirely without some appearance of foundation. It is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpose wrote to him from Colen on the twelfth of August, 1655. However, the general made no scruple of discovering every step taken by the Cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the sending the protector this letter, and joined in promoting addresses to him from the army in Scotland; one of which was most graciously received by the protector on the nineteenth of March, 1657; and the same year he received a summons to Oliver's house of lords.

About this time George, second son of general Monk died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to his father, who was doatingly fond of him. From this period, to the death of Oliver, the general maintained Scotland in subjection, and lived free from all disturbance, not intermeddling further with the mad politicks of those times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in pursuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell protector there after his father's death, Richard having dispatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges then commissioner of the Scotch and Irish forces, whose sister the general had some time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a suitable and respectful answer, aiming only at securing his own command; at the same time joining with the

rest of the officers and army under his command, in an address to the new protector, whose power he might easily foresee would have but a short date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would scarce have been able to preserve himself in his station. And indeed Cromwell began to be apprehensive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the general was deeply engaged in those measures which procured it; if we may judge from a letter wrote by him to general Monk but a little before his death, to which was added the following remarkable postscript:

“ There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you to use your diligence to apprehend him and send him to me.”

However, as Clarges had informed him, by Richard's order, that his late father had expressly charged him to do nothing without his advice, the general recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, moderate ministry in the church; to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they had too often abused; to call a parliament, and to endeavour to be master of the army.

It is well known a parliament was called by Richard Cromwell; and, also, that, by the divisions arising in the upper-house thereof,

of, which spread their influence over the army, he was soon obliged to dissolve it.

The general receiving advice of these transactions, and of the depositions of Richard, readily abandoned him he had so lately proclaimed; and his brother-in-law being again sent to him from the rump-parliament, on their restoration, he acquiesced in all they had done, as the surest way to preserve his own command, only by recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, signed the engagement against Charles Stuart, or any other single person, being admitted to the government. But, when their committee, consisting of ten persons, began, on the information of Peirson and Mason, two republican colonels in his army, to make considerable alterations therein, by cashiering of those officers in whom he most confided; of which his brother-in-law, Clarges, gave him information; he wrote a letter to the house, complaining of this treatment in so warm a stile, at the same time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their committee not to proceed further therein till the general himself was consulted.

The Royalists were far from being idle in this juncture; there had been a kind of secret committee of that party, for managing affairs in behalf of the crown, ever since the death of Charles I. among whom was the son of Sir John Greenville, our general's kinsman, who.

who had lately given a very good living in Cornwall to Mr. Nicholas Monk, his brother; and Sir John receiving at this time two letters from king Charles II. then at Brussels, one directed to himself, and the other to the general, together with a private commission to treat with the latter, the success of that overture ended, as is well known, in the restoration of the king.

On the eighth of May, the general assisted at the proclamation of king Charles II. and, having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that his majesty intended to land at Dover, on the twenty-eighth, the general set out for that place, being the same day the king embarked for Holland; and, lying at Rochester that night, arrived the next day at Dover, where the king landed on the twenty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the general, was conformable to every one's expectation, full of duty on one side, and favour and esteem on the other; the king permitting the general to ride in his coach two miles out of the town; when his majesty took horse, and, with general Monk on his left hand, and his two brothers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the order of the garter on general Monk, the dukes of York and Gloucester investing him with the honourable badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury the king removed to Rochester, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eighth; and the next morning, being his birth-

birth-day, set out for Black-Heath to review the army which the general had caused to be drawn up there ; and from thence proceeded to his capital, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence.

General Monk was now sworn one of the privy-council, made master of the horse, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made first lord-commissioner of the Treasury ; and, in about a month afterwards, was created a peer, being made baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albermarle, with a grant of seven thousand pounds a year, estate of inheritance, besides other pensions ; and received a very peculiar acknowledgment of regard on being thus called to the peerage, almost the whole house of commons attending him to the very door of the house of lords : and we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas said, That the industry and service, which the duke of Albermarle had paid to the crown since the king's restoration, without reflecting upon his service before, deserved all the favour and bounty which his majesty had been pleased to confer upon him.

In October, the duke was made one of the commissioners for trying the Regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but observed great moderation. Soon after, his grace was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex, and of the borough of South-
wark;

wark ; and the parliament voting the disbanding of the army, the duke joined very heartily with lord-chancellor Hyde in promoting that step ; and took great pains, by changing of officers, to bring it to be submitted to quietly ; in which he succeeded, all but his own regiment of foot, and a new raised regiment of horse for the king's guard, being paid off and dismissed ; as some time before had been the commissioners from Scotland, by a letter from the duke of Albermarle, signifying to them, that it was the king's pleasure, not to have them intermeddle any more in the government of that kingdom.

In January following, while the king was accompanying his mother and sister on their return to France, the duke was employed at London in quelling an insurrection made by some Fifth-monarchy men, under one Venner, a wine-cooper ; who were with some difficulty reduced by the duke of Albermarle's regiment, after repulsing some detachments of the city militia and the new-raised horse. This gave rise to a proposal for keeping up standing-forces ; but the duke was averse thereto, saying, That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to so much misinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it.

On the twenty-second of April, 1661, the duke, as master of the horse, attended the king in his procession, leading the horse of state, from the Tower to White-hall ; and
the

the next day carried the sceptre and dove, and was one of the supporters of the canopy during the royal unction at the coronation; after which, he and the duke of Buckingham did homage for themselves and the rest of their degree.

In the latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illness, from which he was recovered by the king's physician, Sir Robert Frazer. After this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himself for some time in retirement, till, on the breaking out of the first Dutch war, under Charles II. in 1664, he was, by his royal highness the duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intrusted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the same time a very obliging letter from his royal highness.

The plague broke out in London the same year; and the king removing from thence to Oxford, the duke of Albermarle's vigilance and activity made his majesty regard him as the fittest nobleman to entrust with the care of his capital city in that time of imminent danger and distress; which additional burthen he cheerfully underwent, and was greatly assisted therein by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Craven. About Michaelmas, the king sent for him to Oxford, whither he went post, and, on his arrival, found his majesty had appointed prince Rupert and himself joint admirals for the ensuing year; which dangerous post, though many of his friends dissuaded him,

18 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

him, he readily accepted, and immediately set himself diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finishing those new ships which were on the stocks, repairing the old ones, which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that summer, victualling and maning the whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot; and was so effectually and expeditiously pursued by him, the seamen offering in crowds to the service, because they said they were sure that honest George, as they commonly called him, would see them well fed and justly paid, that, on the twenty-third of April, 1666, the prince and he took their leaves of the king, and repaired on board the fleet; where the former hoisted his flag, having Sir George Ascough under him, as admiral of the white, on board the Royal James; and the latter, as admiral of the red, on board the Royal Charles.

The particulars of his bravery against the Dutch in this station are properly the subject of general history, to which therefore we refer. He returned home in the beginning of September, and lay with the fleet at anchor in the bay of St. Helen's, near Spithead.

During that interval, broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the second of September, 1666, burned with unparalleled fury for three days, and laid the greatest part of the city in ashes. This unexpected accident immediately occasioned the duke of Albermarle to be recalled from the fleet,

fleet, to assist in quieting the minds of the people, who expressed their affection and esteem for him, by crying out publicly, as he passed through the ruined streets, That, if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt.

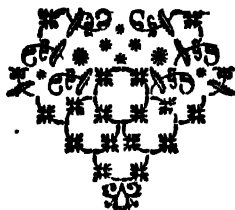
The earl of Southampton dying on the sixteenth of May, 1667, his majesty, after the peace, put the Treasury in commission, at the head of which was again placed his grace the duke of Albermarle. This was the last testimony of the royal favour his grace received; for being now in the sixtieth year of his age, the many hardships and fatigues he had undergone in a military life, began to shake his constitution, hitherto remarkable healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropsy, the first symptoms of which were too much neglected.

In this declining condition he withdrew from public business, as much as his post and the state of affairs would permit, and retired to his seat at Newhall in the county of Essex; where he was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends, to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr. Sermon, of Bristol, who had formerly served under his grace as a common soldier; from which he at first received such considerable relief, that, towards the latter end of the year, he returned to town: but soon after falling into a relapse, with the addition of an asthmatic complaint, he set about finishing the last great temporal affair,

20 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

affair, the marriage of his only son with the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Henry, earl of Ogle, only son to Charles, the then duke of Newcastle; which being settled, the nuptial ceremony was performed in his own chamber, on the thirtieth of December, 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, sitting in his chair, without a single groan.

Thus, in the entrance of the sixty-second year of his life, died this noble and valiant commander, (for, whatever disputes there have been about his civil capacity, his military skill or courage were never called in question) beloved by most, admired by many, and envied but by few.





Thompson, Souther
Hyde, Earl of Clarendon

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD HYDE.

THE antient and genteel family of the Hydes was originally of Northbury, in Cheshire; a branch of which settling at Gussage St. Michael, in the county of Dorset, Mr. Lawrence Hyde, of that place, being the father of several children, his third son was Henry Hyde, of Pyrton, in the county of Wilts, the father (by Mary, his wife, the daughter and heir of Mr. Edward Langford, of Tunbridge, in the same county) of our Mr. Edward Hyde, who was born at Dinton, near Hindon, in Wiltshire, on the sixteenth of February, or thereabouts, in the year 1608.

He was very carefully educated in grammar learning in his youth; soon discovered the pregnancy of his parts and elevated genius, and in Lent term, 1622, became a student of Magdalen hall, in the university of Oxford; where having applied himself to indefatigable study, and highly improved his natural endowments with accademical learning; he removed from thence after he had taken the degree of batchelor of arts to the Middle Temple; where he studied the law for several years,

years, and attained to an uncommon perfection in that honourable profession.

Mr. Hyde made so considerable a figure in his profession, by the year 1633, when the gentlemen of the inns of court, having agreed to entertain the king and royal family with a masque, the better to effect it, resolved to choose two members out of each house whom they thought best qualified to carry on that affair, that he and Mr. Whitlock were chosen for the Inner-Temple.

There is nothing memorable concerning this gentleman from hence forward till the meeting of a parliament in April, 1640, after an interval of seven years, wherein he had the honour to serve the first time as a member for Wooten-Basset, in his native country. His abilities were soon discovered by the great and leading men of that house; and he shewed himself, through the course of the sitting of that parliament, a good and even patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquility of the nation, then in no small ferment upon many occasions.

But, though this parliament was so abruptly dissolved, to the great grief and disappointment of Mr. Hyde, and all good men; the king and kingdom, as things stood, could not long remain without another; which met the third of November following, and wherein Mr. Hyde served for the town of Saltash in Cornwall. His abilities begun now to be very
much

much taken notice of, and he was employed in several committees to examine, and give their opinions to the house concerning divers grievances; and when, from the importunity of the Scotch commissioners, now in treaty, to get money, some of the leading men seemed in despair of being able to borrow more, for that the city was disheartened to see no delinquents brought yet to justice; and therefore, that none could be expected from thence till some advance was made to those longed for ends; Mr. Hyde stood up, and said, He did not think the thing so difficult as was pretended; that no man lent his money who was not a gainer by it; that there was money enough to be had; and he did not doubt but if a small committee from the house was sent to confer in the name of the house, with those who were reputed to be monied men, they might prevail for as much as would serve the present exigence. Whereupon the house named him, Mr. Capel, Sir John Strangeways, and five or six more, who repaired into the city; and, after they had spoken together with four or five eminent men, of wisdom and sobriety, as well as ability to lend, they agreed to divide themselves, and confer separately with their particular acquaintance upon the same subject.

Many men chusing rather to lend their money than be thought to have it, and being very cautious in their expressions, except in private, they found, when they had again
commu-

24 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

communicated together, that the business was very easy, every man with whom they had conferred being willing to lend upon their security who had proposed it : and Mr. Hyde the next day reported the success of their employment, and then enlarged upon the temper they found the city to be in, upon the authority of those who might reasonably be supposed to know it best. That indeed it was much concerned to see two armies maintained at so vast a charge, within the bowels of the kingdom ; and, that they who were able to make good what they promised, had readily engaged, if a peremptory day was assigned for being rid of those armies, there should be no want of money to discharge them.

The major part of the house received this report with great applause ; and Mr. Hyde was no less active and serviceable to his country, in endeavouring to take away the court of York, of which the earl of Strafford had for some years been president.

The commons in a committee having taken the same into consideration, Mr. Hyde, the chairman, then reported the case ; and thereupon it was resolved, that the commissions and instructions, whereby the president and council in the north exercised a jurisdiction, was illegal both in creation and execution, and that it was unprofitable to his majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to his subjects in those parts. Mr. Hyde thereupon being appointed to manage the conference with the lords,
touching

touching the same court, he made a most learned and eloquent speech upon that occasion.

But, though Mr. Hyde was as willing to proceed as any body in redressing the grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful for the security of the established church, now begun to be struck at; and a short bill being brought in to take away the bishops votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs; he was very earnest for the throwing it out, and said, That, from the time that parliaments begun, bishops had always been a part of it: that, if they were taken out, there was no body left to represent the clergy; which would introduce another piece of injustice, no other part of the kingdom could complain of; who, being all represented in parliament, were bound to submit to whatever was enacted there, because it was upon the matter of their own consent; whereas, if the bill was carried, there was no body left to represent the clergy, and yet they must be bound by their own determination.

When he had done, the lord Falkland; who always sat next to him, (which was so much observed, that, if they came not in together, as they usually did, every body left the place for him that was absent) stood up; and declaring he was of another opinion, many of the house were wonderfully pleased to see the

two inseparable friends divided in so important a point, that they could not restrain from a kind of rejoicing; and the more, because they saw Mr. Hyde much surprized, as indeed he was, having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such a compliance; and therefore, they flattered themselves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a further compliance with them; but therein they found themselves much mistaken.

The earl of Strafford's trial was now depending; and, how warm soever Mr. Hyde appeared against that noble lord, as he had been president of the council in the north, yet being fully convinced in mind that the earl had committed no crimes of state which by law could affect his life, he neglected no opportunities to save him.

We need not here recount the earl's unhappy fate; attainted he was, and beheaded: but though those who were supposed to favour him, either of lords or commons, were branded with the name of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country, and that a list of them was posted up at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkard's house, in the Old Palace-yard, in Westminster, yet, such was the sagacity and caution of Mr. Hyde, in his conduct about this unhappy affair, that he was not included amongst them.

The king being now on his return from Scotland, and the commons having prepared a remonstrance of the illegal practices since the beginning of his reign, it admitted of
many

many warm and sharp debates before it could be carried in the affirmative; but then Mr. Hambden moving for an order for the present printing of it, Mr. Hyde, as soon as the motion was made, said, somewhat warmly, He believed it was not lawful to print it before it was sent up to the house of peers for their concurrence, and feared it might be mischievous in the effect; and therefore desired, if the question, when it was put, should be carried in the affirmative, he might have leave to enter his protestation.

This was resented very much; and two days after, after long and warm debates, they ordered, that he should be sent to the Tower; the warm men among them urging earnestly that he should be expelled the house: but, at last, they were content with his commitment to the Tower; from whence he was in a few days released, and sat in the house. The parties and animosities ran so high, that this is all the favour-Mr. Hyde received, little consideration being had to his services performed but very little before this against those barons of the Exchequer who had given their opinions in favour of ship-money, and other but too arbitrary proceedings of these times.

Things in a short while after coming to extremities between the king and parliament, Mr. Hyde continued in the house as long as he had any prospect of doing the king service, and then retiring to his majesty at York, he was pleased to confer upon him the honour of knight-

25 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

knighthood,, and make him chancellor of the Exchequer.

He attended his majesty to Nottingham, where he set up his standard, in August, 1642; but being a man of the gown, and not of the sword, we hear little of him in the course of the civil-war, till the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644, at which he was one of the commissioners for the king; where he shewed himself a strenuous assertor of the king's right to the militia; and vindicated the king's council from any mismanagement in reference to the affairs of Ireland, with which the parliament charged them.

The treaty being broken, and the civil war going on, Sir Edward lived in exile, for some time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the west; from thence he afterwards went to Jersey, where he spent a year and an half, chiefly in compiling the history of the Civil-War; and from whence, in 1648, he passed over into France, to attend the prince there, who, not long after, had the title, though not the power, of king, upon the barbarous murder of his father, and Sir Edward settling some time after with his family at Antwerp, the king thought fit to send him and the lord Cottington upon a joint-ambassy into Spain, to renew the alliance between the two crowns.

Their reception and encouragement at first were pretty tollerable, but the tranquillity they enjoyed was soon over, by the arrival of a
squadron

squadron of the parliament's fleet on the coast of Spain, which frightened the Spanish court from all the seeming affection they had for the royal cause. This, together with the murder of Ascham, the parliament's agent, by some English and Irish ruffians, together with the news of the defeat of the king's army in Scotland, by Cromwell, made the Spaniards heartily desirous they should be gone.

Sir Edward Hyde, in his passage through France to Antwerp, waited upon, and was very graciously received by, the queen-mother; and in vain endeavoured to do the English Protestants at Paris some service with respect to the exercise of their religion. Sir Edward being from hence to his family at Antwerp, the king, in the mean time, after his retreat at Worcester, in 1650, having made his escape into France, he, pursuant to his commands, went and attended him at Paris; where, by his averfeness, first, to the duke of York's marrying Mademoiselle de Longueville, and then to the propofal of a match between the king and Mademoiselle de Mompefier, he so highly incurred the displeasure of the queen-mother, that, at length, she would not vouchsafe to speak to him: and this disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd nature, and an union between two seemingly irreconcilable parties, the Papists and Presbyterians.

They framed their petitions against him ; but the whole contrivance having been discovered to the king before Sir Edward knew any thing of it, and also a copy of the petitions put into his hands, he shewed them to him and the marquis of Ormond, and afterwards made himself very merry with it ; spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen-mother, who had been in the secret, was present ; and asked pleasantly, when the petitions would be brought against the chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the mean time, the queen-mother took all occasion to complain to the queen-regent of the king's unkindness ; that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor ; and the queen-regent of France having intercepted a letter of his to the cardinal de Retz, which he had not thought fit to communicate first to her, she presently did it to his mother ; and a little after, there being a masque at court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it ; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit : and, when they entered, the queen-regent asked, who that fat man was that sat by the marquis of Ormond. The king told her aloud, That was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against his mother ; at which the queen herself was little less disor-
dered.

dered than the chancellor; but they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage.

Though the chancellor of the Exchequer was not, perhaps, in compliance with the queen, against making Sir Edward Herbert, keeper, which happened in 1652, yet his troubles did not cease; for Mr. Robert Long, who, when the king was in Scotland, had been secretary, an office now performed by Sir Edward Hyde, petitioning to be restored to the place, and being refused, he thereupon accused Sir Edward of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible that every body laughed at it: yet, because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof; and at that day the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge.

There Mr. Long produced one Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards had been an under clerk for writing letters, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester, and being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service, under the chancellor of the Exchequer; who said, That, after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, he

spoke with a maid, who had formerly served him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at White-hall ; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr. Long desired time that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it.

To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, He would make no other defence, than, that there were persons then in town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had seen him every day, from the time he returned from Spain, to the day on which he attended his majesty at Paris : and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room ; which the king would not have him do : but he told his majesty, that it was the course, and that he ought not to be present at the debate that was to concern himself ; and the lord-keeper, who was his enemy, with some warmth, said, it was true : and so he retired to his own chamber.

The lord Jermy, as soon as he was gone, said, He never thought the accusation had any thing of probability in it ; and, that he believed the chancellor a very honest man ; but that the use that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been ; and therefore they ought both to be

be cleared. The keeper said, He saw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one witness which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook also to produce the witness herself if he might have time; which, in justice, could not be denied: and therefore he proposed that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and, that, in the mean time, the chancellor might not repair to the council.

With much warmth the king said, He discerned well the design; and, that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him: and therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, He was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent.

The lord-keeper having as ill success in another accusation formed against Sir Edward, as if he had spoke disrespectful words of the king, and the king himself at last having declared he was very well satisfied in the chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had said, and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; from that time, there were no

farther public attempts against the chancellor during the time of his majesty's abode in France.

The king, some time after this, being grown perfectly weary of France, before he retired from thence into Germany, he desired that the chancellor of the Exchequer might part in the queen's good grace; and, being introduced into her presence by the lord Piercy, he told her majesty, That now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him.

The queen, with a loud voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, That she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her; that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; and, that all men took notice that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her roof, (for the house was her's); and that she thought she had not seen him in six months.

months before : which she looked upon as so high an affront, that only her respect towards the king prevailed with her to endure it.

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor, with admirable presence of mind, and happy turn of thought, so peculiar to himself, answered, That her majesty had only mentioned his punishment, and nothing of his fault; that, how great soever his infirmities were, in defect of understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam; which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her; that he had no kind of apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a fool, as to provoke the wife of his dead master, the greatness of whose affections to her was well known to him; and the mother of the king, who subsisted by her favour; and all this in France, where himself was a banished person, and she at home, where she might oblige or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured that no body would think him guilty of so much folly and madness as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace and protection: that it was very true he had been long without the presumption of being in her majesty's presence, after he had undergone many sharp instances of her displeasure, and after he had observed some al-

teration and averſion in her majeſty's look^s and countenance upon his coming into the room where ſhe was, and during the time ſhe ſtayed there; which others likewiſe obſerved ſo much, that they withdrew from holding any converſation with him in thoſe places, out of fear to offend her majeſty: that he had often deſired, by ſeveral perſons, to know the cauſe of her majeſty's diſpleaſure; and, that he might be admitted to clear himſelf from any unworthy ſuggeſtions which had been made of him to her majeſty, but could never obtain that honour; and therefore he had conceived, that he was obliged in good manners, to remove ſo unacceptable an object from the eyes of her majeſty, by not coming into her preſence; which all who knew him could not but know to be the greateſt mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he moſt humbly beſought her majeſty, at this audience, which might be the laſt he ſhould receive of her, that ſhe would diſmiſs him with the knowledge of what had been taken amiſs, that he might be able to make his innocence and integrity appear; which he knew had been blaſted by the malice of ſome perſons, and thereby miſinterpreted by her majeſty.

But all this prevailed not with her majeſty; who objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to leſſen that credit which ſhe ought to have; and concluded, that ſhe ſhould be glad to ſee reaſon to change her
opinion;

opinion ; and so carelessly extended her hand towards him, which he kissing, she departed to her chamber.

Having continued some years longer in exile, his majesty was pleased to make him lord-chancellor of England in the Christmas holidays preceding Oliver's death ; Sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord-keeper of the great-seal, being lately dead at Paris. He received the seal very unwillingly ; but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it ; which when he could not do, he giving him many reasons why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great-seal till the king should come into England ; and, that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those suits which he would be, if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours and land, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and do him great mischief by granting.

The marquis told the king of it ; who went himself to the chancellor's lodgings, and took notice of what the marquis had told him ; and said, He would deal truly and freely with him ; that the principal reason which he had alledged against receiving the seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it
upon.

upon him ; and then he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris, for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands. He mentioned to him also many other importunities with which he was every day disquieted ; and, that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny : and thereupon he conjured Sir Edward to receive that trust, with many promises of his favour and protection : whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure.

The chief administration of affairs was now, in a very great degree, in the hands of the lord-chancellor ; of whose capacity, as well as integrity, his majesty had had so long and convincing experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him : Oliver's death, and the various revolutions that happened upon it in England, revived the hopes and activity of the chancellor to promote the restoration of his royal master to his lost dominions ; and most, if not all, the papers, declarations, and the like, which were put out to this end, were of his drawing. It would be needless to hint the particulars ; his prudence suggested seasonable thoughts of moderation, and mildness to him in the several particulars contained in them.

At length the happy and longed-for day came, when his majesty was restored; and, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1666, made his public entry through the city of London, which put an end, for the present, to the lord-chancellor's exile, and afforded him kind and promising views of a large and prosperous fortune.

The lord-chancellor, who was a very forward instrument with the king at Breda, to make the largest concessions of favour and indemnity, that well could be, to his subjects, upon the prospect he had of his restoration, thought it now his honour, as well as his duty, to endeavour the punctual performance of every particular: and therefore finding there were some persons, who most maliciously endeavoured to insinuate that his majesty intended nothing less than the performance of his promises, the chancellor advised him to send a message to the commons to quicken their debates about the act of a general pardon and indemnity, as that which would best quiet the minds of the people.

That necessary bill, and many others, being at length dispatched, the chancellor concluded that sessions with a very noble speech; wherein, among many other most excellent things, he said a very remarkable thing concerning the army then in being, which, perhaps, could never be said before or after of any other in the world, in these words:

“ If God had not restored his majesty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehension of danger at home or abroad, and without any ambition of taking from his neighbours what they are possessed of, himself would never disband his army : an army whose order and discipline, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the world : an army of which the king and his two royal brothers may say, as the noble Grecian said of Æneas,

—————Stetimus tela aspera contra,
 Contulimusque manus, experto credite quantus
 In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat
 hastam.

“ They have all three; in several countries, found themselves engaged in the midst of these troops, in the heat and rage of battle ; and if any common soldier, as no doubt many may, will demand the old Roman privilege for having encountered princes single, upon my conscience he will find both favour and preferment. They have all three observed the discipline, and felt, and admired, and loved the courage of this army, when they were the worse for it ; and I have seen them, in a season when there was little of comfort in their view, refresh themselves with joy that the English had done the great work, the English had got the day ; and then please themselves

selves with the imagination of what wonders they should perform at the head of such an army."

Nothing seemed now to blow on all sides, but gales of prosperity to the king and the whole nation; and none so much courted and caressed as the lord-chancellor, of all the ministers, whereof he indeed was the chief and most capable; and William, duke of Somerset, giving way to fate in the month of October, this year, the university of Oxford were pleased to make choice of Sir Edward Hyde to be their chancellor in his room. About the same time, he was one of those lords put in a commission of oyer and terminer to try the regicides; and his majesty, on the third of November, was pleased, in gratitude for the long and faithful services of my lord-chancellor, and as an instance of his royal favour, to raise him to the decree of a baron of England, by the title of the lord Hyde, of Hindon, in the county of Wilts; and, on the twentieth of April, 1661, he created him viscount Cornbury, in the county of Oxford, and earl of Clarendon, in Wiltshire, with ceremony in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, three days before his majesty's coronation, being the first of the six earls who were made against that solemnity.

Between the dissolution of this convention-parliament and the meeting of the next, which was to be on the eighth of May, 1661, there was a matter agitated at the helm, that afterwards

42 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

wards through the malice of enemies and the credulity of the unthinking populace, was trumped up to the disadvantage of the chancellor.

It is true his daughter was married to the duke of York, then presumptive heir to the crown ; and proving to be a prolific lady, it was natural for him to wish that some one of the descendants of his own body might, in time, inherit the crown of England ; but, that he should be the contriver, and the only one too, of the match with Portugal, in order to it, is as great a piece of forgery and falsehood as ever could be put upon a man ; and of which the king, who could not foresee this, sufficiently cleared him in his next speech in parliament in these very words :

“ And I tell you, with great satisfaction and comfort to myself, that, after many hours debate in full council, for I think there was not above one absent : and truly I believe upon weighing all that can be said upon that subject, for or against it, the lords, without one dissenting voice, yet there were very few sat silent, advised me, with all imaginable cheerfulness, to this marriage, which I look upon as very wonderful, and even as some instances of the approbation of God himself.”

It was a great weakening to my lord-chancellor Clarendon's interest and stability at court, that Mr. Secretary Nicholas should, on the second of October, 1662, be put out of
his

his office of secretary of state ; and, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards created earl of Arlington, no real friend of the chancellor, and one that died, at length, a Papist, should be sworn into his place. This the chancellor, who was a nobleman, not only of great experience in state affairs, but of an uncommon discerning genius, could not but foresee was designed for no good to him, and therefore he armed himself with all his dexterity against it, as against an enemy that would give him no quarter ; and indeed he made such a provision for a secure footing where he stood, that there could be no just apprehensions of losing any ground ; but the real and heavy storm proceeds many times from the most unexpected quarter.

There had been a long course of uninterrupted friendship both at home and abroad, in a prosperous and adverse fortune, between George earl of Bristol, and the earl of Clarendon ; so that the same seemed to be, like the Gordian knot, indissoluble : but the chancellor refusing a small boon, as the earl of Bristol took it to be, which, it was said, was the passing a patent in favour of a court-lady, and wherein the chancellor, who was best judge of his own office, was certainly in the right.

This so sowed the other's spirits, as, never dreaming he should be denied, that his thoughts suggested nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the highest revenge ;
and,

44 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

and, having digested all things within himself, which he imagined might tend to the disadvantage and ruin of the chancellor, he first made a bitter and artful speech enough against him in the house of lords; and then, on the tenth of July, 1663, exhibited articles of high-treason and other heinous misdemeanours against Edward earl of Clarendon, lord high-chancellor of England.

This bold attack upon the lord-chancellor, though he came off without any blemish, rendered him more cautious and circumspect in his conduct; so that things, in all outward appearance, went smoothly on with him, bating that the gout racked him now and then, till the war with the Dutch broke out; which the libellers of that age made to be one of his heinous crimes, though he abhorred it.

In the mean while, the lord Morley having killed one Mr. Hastings, for which he was to be arraigned at Westminster by his peers, the lord-chancellor was appointed high-steward for the day, and carried every thing with the utmost decorum, circumspection, and justice. My lord Morley was found guilty of manslaughter, but had the benefit of his clergy.

Now comes on this great earl's own misfortunes; for the great-~~deal~~ being taken from him on the thirtieth of August, 1667, it is incredible with what rage and fury every body fell upon him: nay, when the parliament met on the tenth of October following, both houses thanked the king in a more especial manner,

manner, for having displaced the earl, and removed him from the exercise of any public trust and employment: and the commons proceeding to draw up articles against him, Mr. Seymour, in the name of the commons of England, impeached him, at the bar of the house of lords, of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours.

About this time, his lordship, thinking it adviseable for him to withdraw out of the kingdom for his greater security, he sent a petition to the House of Lords in a very noble stile; and, though writ with an air of great candour and sincerity, had no influence at all in his favour. There were several conferences held between the lords and commons about the manner of proceeding against the earl, which ended at last in a bill for banishing and disabling him.

It should have been observed before, that my lord Clarendon's address, or paper, to the house of lords, which was printed, in those days, under the opprobrious title of, "News from Dunkirk-house; or, Clarendon's Farewell to England; in his Seditious Address to the Right Honourable the House of Peers, on the third of December;" was, on the twelfth of the same month, according to the sentence and judgment of both houses of parliament, ~~burned~~ by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex, with very great and signal applause of the populace.

Every

46 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Every body now flung dirt at him, and, like gudgeons, greedily swallowed all that tended to his disreputation and disgrace, without ever enquiring into the reasons of them. Satyrical Andrew Marvel, in his Advice to the Painter, could not, among the rest, forbear to have a fling at him in these opprobrious lines :

But damn'd, and doubly damn'd, be Clarend-
dine,
Our Seventh Edward, with all his house and
line ;
Who, to divert the dangers of the war,
With Bristol, hounds us on the Hollander.
Fool-coated gownman ! Sells, to fight with
Hans,
Dunkirk, — dismantling Scotland, — quarrels
France ;
And hopes he now hath business, shape, and
power,
T' out-last our lives, or his, and 'scape the
Tower ;
And, that he yet may see, ere he go down,
His dear Clarinda circled in a crown.

But the true cause of the noble earl's disgrace proceeded, from none of these suggestions. I find, by an anonymous pamphlet, which severely reflects upon the court proceedings in those times, an insinuation, as if the chancellor had lost his place for deserting the French and popish interest ; and, that his zeal for the protestant religion was such, that,
some

some time before he was turned out, he refused to seal a new commission for the duke of York, to evade a late act made against popery.

There might be some truth, in all likelihood, in this; it is well known his lordship was a zealous Protestant, and that our court might be somewhat popishly affected, even at that time; but

Extempore verum

Nascitur, & veniens ætas abscondita pandit.

Dr. Welwood, in his Memoirs, after having premised, that it looked as if Heaven took a more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up all our liberties at once upon the restoration of king Charles II. for, tho' some were for bringing him back upon terms, yet after he was once come he possessed so entirely the hearts of his people, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive; he tells us, among other designs, that, to please him, there was one formed at court to settle such a revenue upon him, by parliament, during life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the case of a war, or some such extraordinary occasion: that the earl of Southampton, lord high-treasurer, came heartily into it, out of a meer principle of honour and affection to the king; but that chancellor Clarendon secretly opposed it: that

that it happened, that they two had a private conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the treasurer to his opinion, took the freedom to tell him, 'That he was better acquainted with the king's temper and inclinations than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had long and intimate acquaintance with his majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that, if such a revenue was once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use; and, that they were not, in probability, to see many more sessions of parliament during that reign: that Southampton was brought over; but that this passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to king Charles's ears; which, together with other things, wherein Clarendon was misrepresented to him, proved the true reason why he abandoned him to his enemies.

The earl was succeeded in his office by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, with the title of lord-keeper, in his chancellorship of Oxford, by archbishop Sheldon; and being informed, two or three years after his exile, that his daughter, the dutchess of York, was turning, if not turned papist; he wrote a very artful letter to the duke about it, as if he had been still himself a protestant, though he knew him to be a concealed papist; and another more at large to his daughter; wherein, though he shewed a very laudable distance and respect, upon account of the difference of their conditions, yet he

he used the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderness, of a parent; and manifested the great knowledge he had in polemical divinity, and the artifices of the church of Rome to gain profelytes.

The noble earl, in the course of his exile, sojourned in several parts of France, till the year 1674. when, on the seventh of December, he paid his last debt to Nature, near the city of Roan, in Normandy; from whence his body was conveyed into England, and buried on the north side of Capella Regum, in St. Peter's, commonly called the abbey church of Westminster.

This great and learned chancellor, besides several letters, speeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1, A Full Answer to an Infamous and Trayterous Libel; entitled, A Declaration of the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions, touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King, Lond. 1648, 4°. 2, The Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Essex. See Reliquæ Wottonianæ, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3, Animadversions on a Book entitled, Fanaticism, fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet; and the Imputation Refuted and Retorted, by Ser. Cressi. Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4, A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr. Hobbs's

50 **BRITISH PLUTARCH.**

Book, *The Leviathan*. Oxon 1676, 4°. 5,
The History of the Rebellion, begun in 1641,
&c. 3 vols. folio, and since in 8v°. He left
in manuscript, *A History, or Historical Ac-*
count, of Ireland; made use of by Edmond
Borlace, without acknowledgment, in his
book, or books, published of the affairs of
that kingdom: and, within these few years,
three volumes more of his lordship's *History*
have been published by the university of Ox-
ford.



T H E



Anthony Ashley Cooper E. of Shaftesbury

THE LIFE OF

Anthony A. Cooper.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, earl of Shaftsbury, a most able person and great politician, was son of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the county of Southampton, bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorset, bart. where he was born, upon the twenty-second of July, 1621.

Being a boy of uncommon parts, he was sent to Oxford at the age of fifteen, and became a fellow commoner of Exeter college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux, who was then rector of it. He is said to have studied hard there for about two years, and then removed to Lincoln's inn, where he applied himself, with great assiduity, to the study of the law, and especially that part of it which gave him a perfect insight into the constitution of this kingdom.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was elected for Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire, in that parliament which met at Westminster on the thirteenth of April, 1640, but was soon dissolved.

He seems to have been well affected to the king's service at the beginning of the civil war, for he repaired to the king at Oxford, offered his assistance, and projected a scheme, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such as had either deserted or mistaken their duty, to his majesty's obedience.

Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil-war, for he was on that side so long as he had any hopes to serve his country there, he was brought to king Charles I. by the lord Falkland, his friend, then secretary of state, and presented to him, as having something to offer to his majesty worthy consideration. At this audience he told the king, that he could put an end to the war, if his majesty pleased and would assist him in it. The king answered, That he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. "Sire," replied he, "that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business." Whereupon the king shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose :

"The gentlemen, and men of estates, who first engaged in this war, seeing now, after a year or two, that it seems to be no nearer an end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied, would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them,

ANTHONY A. COOPER. 53

them. This, I am satisfied, is the present temper generally throughout England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie. If therefore your majesty will impower me to treat with the parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty, arms being laid down on both sides, should reinstate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and then a free parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation."

He added farther, That he would begin and try the experiment in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, by bringing them the news of peace and security in laying down their arms.

Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, away he goes to Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been in a few days: but prince Maurice, who commanded some of the king's forces, being with his army then in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to the soldiers.

This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear his resentments

54 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

to the prince, so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do, was, that he sent to the other garrisons he was in treaty with, to stand upon their guard, for that he could not secure his articles to them: and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence.

Sir Anthony was afterwards invited to Oxford by a letter from his majesty; but perceiving that he was not confided in, that his behaviour was disliked, and his person in danger, he retired into the parliament quarters, and soon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he gave himself up body and soul. He accepted a commission from the parliament, and raising forces, took Wareham by storm, in October, 1644; and soon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire.

Towards the end of the year 1645, he was chosen sheriff of Norfolk, and approved by the parliament. The next year he was sheriff of Wiltshire. In 1651, he was of the committee of twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was also one of the members of that convention that met after general Cromwell had turned out the long parliament.

He was again member of parliament in 1654; and one of the principal persons who signed that famous protestation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government;

ANTHONY A. COOPER. 52

ment; and he always opposed the illegal measure of that arbitrary usurper to the utmost.

When the protector Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their council of state, and a commissioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a secret correspondence with the friends of king Charles II. and was greatly instrumental in promoting his restoration; which brought him into peril of his life with the powers then in being.

The wisest of kings tells us, That, in the multitude of counsellors there is strength: and how much it is the interest of princes to advance men of the highest qualifications into such trust, the experience of all ages testifieth. The affairs of the public receive their exaltation, or their detriment, from their advices; and, according to the qualifications and inclinations of those great ministers, may be calculated the fate of kingdoms. This hath obliged monarchs to take to their councils men of the largest prospect, the greatest eloquence, and steadiest principle to the interest of the government; persons knowing in the laws and constitutions of the kingdom whereof they are members, that espouse the interest of their country with an inviolable resolution of adhering to it, with the hazard of their dearest lives and liberties; such as prefer the concern of the public above their own private

satisfactions and enjoyments ; that dare deny themselves for the good of their prince : and of this sort, without encroachment on the just acquirements of any other minister, with what admirable policy did he influence and manage the councils he was concerned in during the inter-regnum, towards his majesty's interest ! With what exquisite subtilty did he turn all the channels of their councils to swell this stream ! And how unweariedly did he tug at the helm of state, till he had brought his great master safe into the desired port !

A sense of these great abilities, and firmness to the public good, still kept him up in the esteem of his country, who would always chuse him one of their representatives in the great exigencies of state. They knew him to be one of those that could not believe prerogative to be incompatible with property, but as he believed that motto *Rex legis tutamen*, so he would not have that other, *Grege regis tutamen*, to be rejected.

By this may be easily discerned the opinion he had of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, and how much of the sufferings of the royal party would have been prevented, had that point of a free parliament been then gained. His majesty's restoration must have been the natural consequence of it. The constant correspondence he always kept with the royal party, and that almost to the hazard of his life and family, are sufficient
 testimonies.

ANTHONY A. COOPER: 77

testimonies of his sincerity to his master's interest and service.

His house was a sanctuary for distressed Royalists, and his correspondence with the king's friends (though closely managed, as the necessities of those times required) are not unknown to those that were the principal managers of his majesty's affairs at that time. This made that great politician, Oliver Cromwell, so apprehensive of this great assertor of his country's rights, and opposer of arbitrary government and enthusiasm, that, though his vast abilities were known, at least, to equal the ablest pilot of the state, yet we cannot find him among the creatures of his cabinet, or council; nor amongst the eleven major-generals, to whom the care of the nation was committed: no, their principles, their aims, and designs, were incompatible; one was for subverting, the other for maintaining, the antient standing fundamentals of the nation; which once dissolved, it were impossible but an universal deluge of confusion, blood and rapine, must ensue.

This made our brave patriot, with divers of the heroic English race, to the utmost oppose the growth of a protectorian power? so that we find Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper accused before the parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and for having provided a force of men in Dorsetshire to join with Sir George Booth in attempting to restore and bring his majesty to

98 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

his rightful throne. And we find him one of the nine of the old council of state who sent that encouraging letter to general Monk, to promote his undertaking for the advantage of the three nations.

Again, we find him in the list of that council of state consisting of thirty-nine, upon whom an oath was endeavoured to be imposed for the abjuration of the royal line ; but, by the influence of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and general Monk, upon colonel Morley, that oath was opposed in council, as being a snare and against their consciences. This was strongly pleaded by the soberer part of the council, whereof this great patriot was one ; and so an end was put to that oath and to the council.

He was returned a member for Dorsetshire in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which sat upon the twenty-fifth of April, 1660 ; and a resolution being taken to restore the constitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons to carry their invitation to the king. It was in performing this service that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord-chancellor.

Upon the king's coming over, he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. He was also one of the commissioners for the trial

ANTHONY A. COOPER.

trial of the Regicides ; and, though the Oxford historian is very severe upon him on this occasion, yet he is not believed to have been any ways concerned in betraying or shedding the blood of his sovereign.

By letters patent, dated April 20, 1661, he was created baron Ashley, of Winborn St. Giles's; soon after made chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, and then one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of high-treasurer. He was afterwards made lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset; and, on the twenty-third of April, 1672, created baron Cooper, of Pawlet, in the county of Somerset, and earl of Shaftsbury.

On the fourth of November following, he was raised to the post of lord high-chancellor of England; which office he executed with great ability and integrity. He shone particularly in his speeches in parliament; and, if we judge only from those which he made upon the swearing in of the lord high-treasurer Clifford, his successor, Sir Thomas Osborne, and Mr. baron Thurland, we must conclude him one of the ablest men and most accomplished orators this nation ever bred. The short time he was at the helm, was a season of storms and tempests; and it is but doing him strict justice to say, that they could not either fright or distract him.

Upon the ninth of November, 1673, he resigned the great-seal, and with some particular

cular circumstances, which the reader may like to hear. Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, as Mr. Echard relates, the earl was sent for on Sunday morning to court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, to whom the seals were promised. As soon as the earl came, he retired with the king into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to see him return without the purse. His lordship being alone with the king, said, "Sire, I know you intend to give the seals to the attorney-general, but I am sure your majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt." The king, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fish, my lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront." "Then, sire," said the earl, "I desire your majesty will permit me to carry the seals before you to chapel, and then send for them afterwards from my house." To this his majesty readily consented, and the earl entertained the king with news and entertaining stories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse the courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he should prevail upon the king to change his mind.

The king and the earl came out of the closet, talking together and smiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly surprised them all; and some ran immediately to tell the duke of York that all their measures were broken.

ANTHONY A. COOPER. 41

broken. After sermon the earl went home with the seals, and that evening the king gave them to the attorney-general.

After he had quitted the court, he continued to make a great figure in parliament; his abilities enabled him to shine, and he was not of a nature to rest. In 1675, the lord-treasurer Danby introduced the test-bill into the house of lords, which was vigorously opposed by the earl of Shaftsbury, who, if we may believe bishop Burnet, distinguished himself more in this session than ever he had done before. This dispute occasioned a prorogation, and there ensued a recess of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again on the sixteenth of February, 1676-7, the duke of Buckingham argued, That it ought to be considered as dissolved. The earl of Shaftsbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that, together with the duke before-mentioned, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord Wharton, he was sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other lords, upon their submission, were immediately discharged.

When he was set at liberty, he managed the opposition to the earl of Danby's administration with such vigour and dexterity, that it was found impossible to do any thing effectually in parliament without changing the system which then prevailed.

The

62 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The king, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolved to make a change, dismissed all the privy-council at once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the twenty-first of April, 1679; and, at the same time, the earl of Shaftsbury was appointed lord-president. He did not hold this employment longer than the fifth of October following. He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an exclusion bill; and therefore no wonder if a party was constantly at work against him.

It is almost incredible, how, in this interval, the papists lifted up their heads, braving the very face of justice; for now they had got such a cast of evidence, that would have accused innocence itself; there being a large sum of money offered by the lady Powis, if any would undertake to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, against whom the rage of that bloody party was now so great that they left no base and unwarrantable action unattempted to rob him of his life. Some were hired to stab or shoot him, others to swear treason against him, or any other course the devil could suggest, so as he were but made away, on whose life they thought the ill success of their diabolical machine depended. Libels, containing the blackest treasons against his majesty, were forged in the names of the
most

most eminent protestant peers of the nation, scarce any persons of integrity against the Roman superstitions, but would have been made a party to it : but, who ever was omitted, the lord Shaftsbury was sure to be drawn into the plot.

These were, by their mercenary agents, secretly to be conveyed into the houses of the Protestants aforesaid ; and then they wanted not a set of base and mean spirited villains to swear it home upon them ; persons of that profligate and contemptible disposition, that, for a mess of pottage, would not only forsake all claim to honesty and virtue, but prostitute their souls to the lust and ambition of the worst of men : but these were no new things to the brave and excellent, to be exposed by trials of this nature to the rage of brutish and inhuman wretches. To what a pitch of heroic magnanimity must that person needs be arrived that can buoy up his soul against such foul tempests, when the consideration of simple innocence shall maintain a perpetual serenity within, amidst all the cloudy fogs of adversity !

Mr. Dangerfield gives a large account, in his Narrative, of two several times that he had attempted the life of the earl of Shaftsbury ; and that he had been instigated thereto by the popish priests, and that the lady Powis, particularly, had offered him five hundred pounds to perform it, whereof he received twenty pounds in part, but that still he had
been

64 BRITISH PLUTARCH:

been providentially disappointed of that barbarous enterprize.

One day, Dame Cellier demanded of him, whether he had dispatched the earl; and he replying, that he could have no opportunity to come at him; "Give me the poniard," said she, "you shall see what a woman can do for the catholic cause:" and, accordingly, by the instigations of the devil, and a hellish rage which the Papists miscall a holy zeal, she addressed herself to the execution of that execrable design. She made a visit to the earl, under pretence of paying her thanks for favours obtained through his means; but the consecrated dagger still lurked under the skirt of her gown, ready to have expressed her gratitude by opening the veins of this protestant peer's heart. He had no reason to be over-fond of the conversation of such cattle; and therefore, in a short time, she was dismissed without having an opportunity of putting her wicked and treacherous design in execution.

The catholic gallantry stops not here, but pursues this noble peer with forgery of his hand, other, their little black artifices, and sham-plots. What base and villainous arts the Papists used, to destroy the lord Shaftsbury, is not only evident by their many endeavours to have stabbed him, as hath been deposed by divers persons, to whom the parliament, as well as the nation, have given belief; but may be further confirmed by their intercepting letters

letters directed to his lordship : and after they had, in a hand as near the original as they could counterfeit, inserted treason in them, they were transmitted to such as would certainly acquaint the ministry with it. In short, one story of their mischievous practice of this kind, is this :

There was a gentleman, who was a commander of a regiment of horse in the service of Charles I. and lost all for his sake ; and his majesty, Charles II. wrote to the noble peer about relieving him against the gout, with which he used to be afflicted. This letter was intercepted ; and, the person then living in the French king's dominions, after adding to it an account, that the writer was able to furnish the earl with forty thousand men from France, to oppose the duke of York's interest, it was then conveyed to some of the French king's ministers, who they supposed would send a copy of it hither ; but, by a strange providence, the original was returned into the gentleman's own hands.

So endless were the designs and conspiracies of the Papists against this noble peer, that, notwithstanding they met with many disappointments in their attempts, the Almighty Providence protecting his innocence from their hellish machinations, that another female agent was discovered for tampering with Mr. Dugdale to retract what he had sworn before the king and parliament, towards the detec-
tion

tion of the damnable popish plot, the sum of two thousand pounds was offered him, by one Mrs. Price, and divers great persons named by her to be security for the payment of it, in case he would sign such a recantation, and affix the odium of a protestant or presbyterian plot on some of the protestant peers, and others of known loyalty and integrity to their prince and country; particularly on the right honourable the earl of Shaftsbury: of which barbarous design, Mr. Dugdale (being at that time touched with some remorse at such a horrid villainy) gave his lordship an account, which occasioned the miscarrying of that foul and traiterous enterprize.

Nor were they wanting in their famous method and artifice in calumniating and throwing dirt on the reputation of this noble peer, which is a faculty they are very famous for, and on the account of which they may particularly value themselves; for a packet of base libels, and treasonable reflections, were, by the penny-post, transmitted to a printer, and copies of the same dispersed about the parts of Westminster, full of venomous and malicious slanders, and imputations, tending to take away the life of that protestant earl, and divers other peers of right honourable account; but the printer detesting so black a design, published an invitation to any person that would detect the author or publisher of that infamous libel.

In

In October, during the session of the last parliament, it was very remarkable, that Francisco de Faria, interpreter to the Portugal ambassador, amongst other high matters relating to the popish plot, gave it in his information, at the bar of the house, he declared, that the said ambassador had tempted him to kill the earl of Shaftsbury, by throwing a hand grenado into his coach as he was passing the road into the country: and, about the twentieth of November, one Zeal being called to the bar of the house, delivered his information at the bar; That, being a prisoner in the Marshalsea, Mrs. Cellier came divers times to him, and treated with him, not only to be instrumental himself, but to procure others to assist him, to fire his majesty's ships as they lay in the harbour; as also to swear against the earl of Shaftsbury such articles of high-treason as she should get ready prepared for him; or to that purpose. To sum up the various methods and ways that were devised, and put in execution, to cut off the life of this noble peer, would be task enough to fill up many volumes.

Upon the king's summoning a parliament to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March, 1680 1, he joined with several lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of success. He was present at that parliament, and strenuously supported the exclusion-bill; but the duke and his friends soon contrived to make him feel the weight of

of his resentments ; for his lordship was apprehended for high-treason on the second of July, 1681 ; and, after being examined by his majesty in council, was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months.

He was at length tried, acquitted, and discharged; yet did not think himself safe, as his bitterest enemies were now in the zenith of their power. He thought it high time, therefore, to seek for some place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the small remainder of his life in peace. It was with this view, that, in November, 1682, he embarked for Holland; and arriving safely at Amsterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a house there, proposing to live in a manner suitable to his quality, being visited by persons of the first distinction, and treated with all the deference and respect he could desire : but being seized by his old distemper, the gout, it immediately flew up into his stomach, and soon became mortal ; so that he expired on the twenty-second of January, 1682-3, in the sixty-second year of his age.

His body being embalmed, was transported to England, and interred with his ancestors at Winborne St. Giles ; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inscription to his honour, was erected by the present earl of Shaftsbury,

ANTHONY A. COOPER. 69

It was a misfortune to this noble personage, that those who were angry with him have transmitted to posterity the history of the times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share; and this may, in some measure, account for his making so amiable a figure in history; and, that, while his prodigious abilities stand confessed by all, the goodness and integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. It is also not to be imagined, at this distance, what arts and contrivances were set on foot by his enemies in his life-time to render his name odious and detestable.

Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the parliament to vilify the royal family in the most scandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the ministers to abuse and defame the earl of Shaftsbury. This he did with great pleasure, in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, *A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadversions*, sent from London to the Men of Shaftsbury; which is of Use for all his Majesty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms. London, 1676. And, what is remarkable enough, his abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by the Oxford historian.

The earl of Shaftsbury was also represented as having had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland; and this made way for calling him count Tapsky, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out

c?

of the ulcer between his ribs when he was lord-chancellor. It was also a standing-jest, with the lower form of wits, to stile him Shiftsbury instead of Shaftsbury.

It is remarked that Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rhenish and sugar; that is, entertained his mistresses. His lordship is supposed to have been a little intemperate in this way; and it is recorded, that king Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once said to the earl at court, in a vein of raillery and good-humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shaftsbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions:" to which, with a low bow, and very grave face, the earl replied, "May it please your majesty, of a subject I believe I am." At which the merry monarch laughed most heartily.





Tringham del.

Duke of Ormond

JAMES BUTLER. 71

THE LIFE OF
JAMES BUTLER,
DUKE OF ORMOND,
Including the MEMOIRS of the
EARL OF OSSORY.

JAMES BUTLER, the seventh earl, and first duke, of Ormond, was born in 1610, and, at the age of three years, passed over into Ireland, a year before the death of the old earl Thomas, whose figure and caresses he always after remembered.

In 1619, his father Thomas, eldest son of Walter, earl of Ormond, being drowned in his passage to England, he was called lord James, as heir apparent of his grandfather. The year afterwards he was brought by his mother to England, and lived, for a short time, with a popish schoolmaster, who bred him in the errors of the Romish church till king James, who considered him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the house of archbishop Abbot: but having, at that time, seized upon his grandfather's estate, allowed him only forty pounds a year for the support of

of himself and his servant; and made the archbishop no allowance for his maintenance or education. which was probably one reason why he was taught nothing — A neglect which might have deprived the age of one of its greatest ornaments, had not diligence and capacity found means to supply the want of education.

At the age of sixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had now recovered his liberty and a great part of his estate: and now, being no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the amusements and diversions of young men, and was particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; so that most of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance: but he did not lose in his diversion that regard to his fortune and interest, which becomes a rational and prudent mind; for seeing the estate of lord Preston, which had been with so much violence forced from the house of Ormond, now wholly devolved to an heiress, he found means of marrying her, and so put an end to the differences which had given so much disturbance to both families, and by which his grandfather had so severely suffered.

In 1632, about two years after his marriage, he became, by the death of his grandfather, earl of Ormond; and, being naturally of an active and enterprising character, soon engaged in public affairs; and grew, by the

countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland, one of the chief actors in the house of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, thought it always proper to shew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence. The animosity in the Irish parliament had risen so high, that there was danger lest their debates should terminate in blood; and lest, as it has been related of popish assemblies, they should appeal from argument to the sword. For this reason, the lord-deputy published a proclamation by which he forbade any man to sit in either house with his sword; a precaution which had been used in former times, and in other places where usages were now settled; and the chief governor was more restrained; and so was, by no means, unjustifiable in this case.

When the lords therefore entered the house, their swords were delivered by them at the door to the usher of the black-rod, who stood ready to receive them; but, when the earl of Ormond was about to enter, he refused to deliver his sword; and told the usher, who, with the usual confidence of momentary power, enforced his demand with some rudeness, That, if he had his sword, it should be in his guts. The deputy, imagining his authority treated, by this refusal, with contempt, sent for the earl, and demanded the reason of his disobedience; but was answered, by being

presented with the writ in which he was summoned, as earl of Ormond, to sit in parliament girded with a sword. The deputy had nothing ready to offer as a reply, and the earl therefore was dismissed, not only without censure, but with such esteem of spirit (which was, indeed, on this occasion, more conspicuous than his prudence, that the lord-deputy had him, ever afterwards, in particular esteem; and, when he returned to England, recommended him to the privy-council as one who was likely to prove a great and able servant of the crown.

In 1640, an army being thought necessary to be raised in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and ascertaining their maintenance, from the funds which the parliament had provided, was reposed in the earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendezvoused at Carrickfergus, and to have been transported from thence to Scotland, but this pacification which soon after followed, prevented the execution of the design.

The next year broke out the terrible and bloody Irish rebellion, made for ever memorable by a rage of cruelty scarcely ever exercised on any other occasion, and which filled that unhappy country, for many years, with slaughter and desolation. The most cruel, and most furious, though not the ablest leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who began the design on the twenty-second of October, the day appointed for the general insurrection,

surrection, by the seizure of the castle of Charlemount, a very important fort upon the pass of Blackwater.

The perfidy with which he transacted this first part of his scheme, was a natural prelude to the barbarities which he practised in the prosecution of it. He sent word to the lord Charlemount, who was governor of the fortress, that he would that day be his guest; and an entertainment was accordingly provided; to which, as was not uncommon in those times, great numbers resorted, as to a general festival. Lord Charlemount had one company of soldiers in his garrison; but they not suspecting danger, and being equally inclined with the strangers to pass the day in plenty and merriment, laid aside their arms, and mingled with the company. The table was spread, the guests were gay, and all was jollity and civility till towards evening, when Sir Phelim finding all his accomplices entered, and all dangers of resistance removed, seized upon lord Charlemount, and his family, while his followers murdered or secured the soldiers, and took possession of the castle.

On the same day, many other chieftains raised their septs, and endeavoured to take possession of the towns in their neighbourhood; at some of which they succeeded; and at others were disappointed. They grew, however every day stronger, as they were absolute lords of all that was to be found in the open country, and had therefore sufficient means to

tempt the needy peasants to join them. The whole country of Craven was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and seven others by other leaders, in the first week; and Sir Phelim O'Neal had gathered, in the same time, a body of near thirty thousand men; which is a sufficient proof of the Irish to rebel: but is it not likewise a reasonable ground of suspicion, that, since the effect must bear a natural proportion to the cause, they had received some general provocations; that the English had forgotten that industry with which disputed titles ought always to be enjoyed; and, that kindness, with which intruders, however powerful, and however supported, ought always, to endeavour to recommend themselves to original inhabitants?

There is, however, a distinction always to be made between severity and inhumanity. If the Irish thought themselves oppressed, and to be reinstated in the rights of nature only by the sword, they might give many arguments, and shew many precedents, for recourse to it; but, for the butcheries they committed, without resistance, without provocation, and without advantage, nothing can be pleaded; at least nothing but what may serve as an excuse for any other wickedness; that they were heated in the prosecution of their design beyond compassion and beyond policy.

It is apparent that the followers of Phelim O'Neal had, in a short time, learned to take pleasure in cruelty; and not only to murder those

those who fell into their hands without reluctance, but with merriment and delight : and, so much had he heightened their barbarity, that, if they happened to have no prisoners to destroy, they would amuse themselves with seizing the cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them ; and would cut off the legs of sheep or oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering agonies. By this stupid cruelty, did they destroy great numbers of the cattle which the death or escape of the owners put into their hands : and by this practice did they, in any interval of human massacre, keep their hearts from learning to relent.

Sir Phelim was so far from endeavouring to repress this rage of cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own example ; for, whenever he was accidentally discomposed, his rage always broke out in some horrible and useless act of cruelty. At one time he ordered the lord Charlemount, whom he had seized at Charlemount to be shot ; at another, he massacred great numbers whom he had received, under his own hand, to quarter ; and was every day inciting himself and his followers to new forms of barbarity, and accumulating one murder upon another.

The accounts which have been generally received of this horrid massacre, are, in many circumstances, very remote from truth. It is asserted, that, at least, one hundred and fifty thousand English were destroyed ; and, to ag-

gravate the horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one day; but it is certain, that there was no particular day remarkable for bloodshed: and it is probable, that the numbers massacred did not exceed thirty-seven thousand.—A dreadful slaughter, which surely needs not to be made more detestable by any exaggerations.

To trace the progress of this rebellion from country to country, and to shew how one city was taken after another, and all parts of the kingdom successively laid waste, is not necessary to our present design; but it is always proper, in relating calamities, to mention likewise the best manner of obviating or escaping them; and therefore it is the duty of an historian to observe, that the rebellion rose to its height, and became irresistible, not by the valour or policy of the Irish, but by the imprudence or cowardice of those whom they invaded. The rebels had, indeed, in a short time, raised great numbers, but they were without arms; and therefore, if the English, instead of endeavouring to provide every man for his own private security, had unanimously assembled in large bodies, and opposed their enemies in the field, they might easily, as they wanted not weapons among them, have dispersed a naked and tumultuary rabble, which could not be armed, but by degrees, with the weapons which their plunder furnished; and who, without arms, could only distress and embarrass one another.

That

That this method would have been successful appeared from the consequences of resistance where-ever it was made; for, at the beginning of the commotions, when any gentleman, either bred to arms, or incited by his natural courage to dispute his fortune and his life, was able to collect a small party, and to make a stand against the Irish, he scarcely ever failed of defeating them, and preserving himself and neighbours; till, partly by ravages, and partly by purchase in other countries, the Irish had provided themselves with weapons; and, by frequent encounters with inferior numbers, had been taught to use them with skill and confidence.

Of this the earl of Ormond was so much convinced, that, having, about this time, received the following commission to be lieutenant general of the king's forces, he made an offer to the lords justices, to march against them with six troops of horse, and two thousand five hundred foot; with which he made no doubt of defeating and dispersing them, if they were attacked, without delay, before they had gathered any cavalry, or had time to furnish themselves with arms.

“ ORMOND,

“ THOUGH I am sorry for this occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and considerable part of Ireland; yet I am

glad to have so faithful and able a servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so important a business. This is therefore to desire you to accept of that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army. The which, tho' you may have some reason to excuse, (as not being so well acquainted with this lord-lieutenant as you was with the last) yet I am confident, that my desire, and the importance of the business, will easily overcome that difficulty; which layed aside for my sake, I shall accept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which I know you have to my service. So referring what I have else to say to captain Wccrus's relation, I rest

Edinburgh, Your most assured Friend,
31st of October, CHARLES R."
1641.

In consequence of this commission, the earl of Ormond continued to serve the king with all the zeal that bravery and fidelity could inspire, though not with the success which might have been expected from him, had he been at liberty to form his own measures, and to lay hold of those advantages which, whenever his own diligence had procured them, the delays of the lords justices compelled him to lose; and, in the mean time, he was forced to struggle with numberless calumnies, which his loyalty to the king probably

JAMES BUTLER. 81

bably drew upon him ; for, at this time, the prevailing party in England began to set their sovereign at open defiance, and to charge him, amongst other attempts against the constitution and religion of the nation, with the crime of having encouraged the rebellion and massacre of Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, however, having defeated the rebels at Kilrush, and distinguished himself by many other actions as a general and subject, the king, since his affairs were at that time in such a situation that he had nothing but honours to bestow, thought it proper to distinguish him by a higher title ; and therefore, in 1642, created him marquis of Ormond.

About the same time, a controversy between him and the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, was decided in such a manner as gave him power to dispose, while the lord-lieutenant was absent, of all the posts that should become vacant in the army : by which his interest was encreased, and his authority confirmed ; as the soldiers had no means of obtaining preferment but by gaining the approbation of their general : but this new dignity conferred no strength, and he was only exposed to the mortification of seeing himself unable to return the regard which had been shewn him by his master, by any important service ; which he had every day less hopes of effecting, as the parliament declared more openly against the king. Some forces were in

82. BRITISH PLUTARCH.

deed sent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the subjection of the rebels; for, by plundering all indiscriminately, they weakened those most who were least able to bear new losses; by disregarding all those who acted by the king's authority, they destroyed the union which was necessary to success; and, by treating the whole kingdom with unreasonable severity, they encouraged the opinion, that nothing less than extirpation was intended: and therefore added to the ardour of resentment the fury of despair.

The marquis, restrained in the execution of his power, by directions from the justices, unseasonably and offensively circumstantial, and was so much perplexed with distrust and misrepresentation, that nothing prevented his resignation of his command, but the certain knowledge that he would be succeeded by some one not equally anxious to promote the advantage, and defend the honour, of the king.

About this time it was no longer necessary to send the army into the field, and an expedition was intended for the conquest of Rose and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond set out therefore with his forces, and came before Rose, on the twelfth of March, 1643; and would soon have been able to take it, being at first but weakly garrisoned, had not the justices neglected to send him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his soldiers; all which being to be transported by sea, were so negligently

JAMES BUTLER. 63

negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the vessel was ready for the voyage; and the army, instead of annoying the enemy, had no care so pressing as that of procuring bread, which was sent, in a very little quantity, from the garrison of Duncannon.

Having no provisions, and being unable to lie before a town well provided, they first resolved upon an attack, which was made without success, though with no great loss; but there was no time for enlarging the breach, or proceeding by more slow and certain methods. Sir Preston had now gathered an army of six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse; and, by having possession of the country, cut off the foragers, and reduced the besiegers to the necessity of abandoning their design, or of starving in their camp. A council was called in this exigence, by which it was soon determined to come to an engagement, for there was indeed nothing else in their power: and therefore the army was immediately drawn off from before the place, and marched against the enemy, who, determining to give them battle, waited only for the attack.

The battle lasted not long before Preston's troops gave way, and fled first to a bog, and then over the barrow, where he broke down the bridge behind him, and left the marquis to supply himself with necessaries from

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

the country, which was now wholly at his mercy.

But the distress and poverty of the army was the same after the victory as before it; for, though the country, which was now open to them, furnished them with provisions for their retreat, yet, being naked and exhausted, it would not supply any stores for a longer support, and therefore they returned to Dublin, where they found the same distress; and where they were again to represent, to remonstrate, to petition, and to starve. The justices were unwilling that the king should receive any information of the state of the nation, or of the army; and therefore the marquis of Ormond, who was not equally inclined to make his sovereign contemptible, sent, without their concurrence, such a narrative as was concerted by him with several of the privy-council.

This, with other accounts which had been transmitted, had such an effect, that Sir William Parsons was at length removed from his post of lord-justice, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had more affection for the king's service. But the change of one of the governors, though it might set the marquis free from some embarrassments, could contribute very little to the support of the army, whose necessities grew every day more pressing, and whose hopes of relief became more distant; for the Papists enlarged their quarters

JAMES BUTLER. 55

quarters on every side, and the imprudence of some officers, and the barbarity of others, by whom the Protestants were commanded, was such, that they were perpetually encreasing that hatred which, among bigots, was naturally raised by the imputation of heresy, and disposed multitudes to rise against them, who had of themselves no inclination to war, or necessity of living by plunder.

Distress thus hourly encreasing, and the enemy, though they were often driven out of the field, yet returning to it with greater numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the king, that a cessation of arms should be proposed; and a commission to treat was sent to the marquis of Ormond, who thought it necessary, but knew not how to set it on foot without inconvenience or disgrace to his sovereign.

It was necessary, to the king's honour, that the first offer should be made by the rebels; and it was likewise proper, that the council should own, in some solemn manner, their conviction of the impracticability of establishing the peace of the nation by any other means.

In order to procure the first overtures from the Irish, agents were employed who, after long deliberation, prevailed upon them to propose a cessation for twelve months; and, that the justices might have no pretences that a negotiation of such importance was set on foot, either without their concurrence, or in opposition to their advice, the marquis first demanded,

demanded, in a full council, Whether any man could offer a proposal more honourable for the king, or more advantageous to the nation, than that of a cessation? Noise had any thing to offer, or could give information of any measures that had a probable appearance of success; and therefore a cessation was necessarily to be admitted as the only resource then remaining. The marquis was willing, however, that no possibility of suspicion should be left, that might subject this part of his conduct to the imputation of cowardice, or inclination to gratify the rebels by concessions which might have been avoided; and therefore, to put a stop for ever to all such insinuations, he made an offer, That, if the justices and council, who were best acquainted with the condition of the state, could procure only ten thousand pounds, half in money, and half in victuals, he would still prosecute the war, and endeavour to enlarge his quarters.

Upon this proposal, the mayor of Dublin, and some of the most wealthy citizens, were required to attend, and consulted by what means such a supply could be procured: but they declared their opinion, that no such levy could be made; and, that the country was too much exhausted to be able to give any farther assistance for its own preservation. The marquis was therefore at full liberty to pursue his own measures, and proceed to negotiate a cessation.

JAMES BUTLER. 87

It is not to be imagined, but that the rebels were fully sensible of their own superiority, and were therefore not easily to be persuaded to such terms as it was fit to allow them ; for it was necessary for the government to maintain an air of superiority, even when its distresses could not but be known ; and therefore was not to be avoided, that many difficulties would arise which, between enemies of another kind, could not have happened.

About this time, arrived likewise a commissioner from the pope, with a supply of money and with stores of war. These added great weight to the influence which he exerted in opposing the cessation : but there were still, in the army of the Papists, men of great rank and reputation, who still retained their duty to the king, and who wished, with the utmost ardour, to put a stop to the desolations of their country. These men struggled very earnestly for the cessation, and by their means it was at last concluded.

The articles were not ratified till the fifteenth of September ; and, in the mean time, the Irish had not only gathered in the harvest almost without interruption, but had frequently adventured by night into the other quarters, and reaped the corn, and carried it away : so that the only just complaint that could be made against the cessation, was, that it was too long delayed ; but that delay was unavoidable, where so many men, of different

88 BRITISH FLUTARCH.

different interests, opinions, and inclinations, were to be consulted.

This cessation, however, while it hurt only the Papists, whose union it broke, and whose ardour it relaxed, was represented by the enemies of the marquis, and not less by those of the king, as an unseasonable concession; and loud clamours were raised, as if the protestant interest had been betrayed, and the nation given up by treaty.

This cessation being thus concluded, the influence, fidelity, and diligence of the marquis of Ormond became so conspicuous, that it was thought necessary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he soon afterwards received the sword, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of serving his king, or of remedying many of the disorders. They had proceeded too far to give way to a government which was without any force to support it; which only a very small district professed to obey; and which had no advantage, but that of its legality. He had therefore this only comfort, that, tho' he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other man; and, that what authority was yet maintained by his sovereign in Ireland, was the consequence of the reputation and influence of the lieutenant.

In the beginning of his lieutenancy, he was embarrassed with many difficulties, which cannot, in this place, be recounted. He was to endeavour

JAMES BUTLER. 89

endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompencing any; and to command without the power of compulsion. There were few who thought their duty of so much importance as to be preferable to their interest; and undoubtedly many, if they were inclined to the right, were, in the distraction of opposite motives, unable to determine their own choice.

In the midst of these perplexing disturbances, it was hoped that he might send some assistance to the Royalists; but armies could not be enlisted, nor transported, without pay and provision; and he was unprovided with money.

The Irish, during the quiet of the cessation, by which some desires of a fixed and lasting peace could not but be excited, sent commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king; but, at first, proposed conditions which could not, without reproach, be made the foundation of a treaty; and on which, therefore, no conference was allowed. They soon discovered that they had required more than could be granted; and therefore, in a few days, moderated their demands, insisting only on the abrogation of the penal laws against recusants; the rights of enjoying posts and offices in the government; the exclusion from the parliament of all persons who had not estates in the kingdom of Ireland; and a general act of oblivion which should secure both person and estate.

To

To these, several other propositions were added, of less importance, or less extensive in their consequences : upon which the treaty of peace was wholly referred to the marquis of Ormond, who was more acquainted than they with the condition of Ireland ; and whose personal influence on many of the commissioners might enable him to reason with more immediate reference to their particular opinions and designs, and to suggest motives more likely to operate upon their minds than general arguments.

His knowledge, likewise, of the affairs of the kingdom, which was under his government, would give him opportunity of distinguishing between the propositions of more or less importance, and of the consequences which might be hoped or feared from any grant or denial. There were not, indeed, reasons wanting for throwing the burthen of this treaty upon the lord-lieutenant ; but most of the arguments which inclined the council at Oxford to chuse him for the task, were of equal weight to determine him against the undertaking : and the event of this treaty gave the lieutenant new conviction of the impossibility of a valuable service to be performed by him ; and, as it was natural to desire, that it might appear from equal failures in others, that his impotence was not the effect of negligence, or want of dexterity ; and, as he soon grew weary of a post in which he found nothing but the name of authority, and the
pomp

pomp of government, he entreated the king's permission to lay down the sword, that the direction of the affairs of Ireland might be committed to some person more equal to the burthen.

Before his departure, however, the marquis, by his unwearied endeavours, saw the peace concluded, without any concessions disadvantageous to the protestant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. The marquis of Ormond, also, in order to the promotion of the king's interest, and the reconciliation of the confederate Irish, he also marched with a small force to Kilkenny, where he was received with respect, by the supreme council, as a governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded into the remoter parts of the island; but had not went far before he received intelligence of a design laid by O'Neil to surprize him, and to force him to consent to a new peace upon other terms. O'Neil was to be assisted by Preston; and both were endeavouring, in the most secret manner, to direct the march of their forces, so as to intercept the lieutenant in his progress.

Of this design he received such accounts as he could not distrust, and therefore returned to Dublin with the utmost caution and expedition; his waggons being plundered at Kilkenny, and his plate, and other things of value, taken away.

The pope's nuncio then in Ireland now found himself master of the field; and, that his

his designs might be no longer obstructed, led his army to Kilkenny, and imprisoned the supreme council, which he had found not sufficiently disposed to comply with his proposals.

That the government might be carried on, he summoned an assembly of the clergy, who invested themselves with the authority which they had taken from the council, and assumed the unlimited direction of temporal as well as spiritual affairs. They were now at the height of prosperity, and endeavouring to extend their authority to the utmost boundaries of the kingdom, determined to put an end to the lieutenant's authority, and ordered their forces to besiege Dublin.

The two bodies of men under O'Neil and Preston, did not wholly trust, or very diligently assist each other; and there was some prospect of a treaty of Preston for a union with the lord-lieutenant against O'Neil; but Preston was a man so little steady, and the Irish confederates had so little fidelity, that nothing was to be trusted to their honour or their oaths; and therefore the marquis would not put the last remains of the protestant power into their hands; but resolved to sustain a siege in Dublin, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the marchioness and ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carried baskets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, provision could not be procured in an exhausted

hausted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his distress, had nothing more to provide against than the importation of victuals; and they might reduce the town without batteries or assaults; nor could he have avoided to fall into their hands, without the possibility of a struggle for victory, by any other way than that of delivering the city, and the commission by which he governed the kingdom, to the powers then prevailing in England; to whom, the king had informed him, that he desired the kingdom should, when it could be kept no longer, be resigned, rather than to the Irish:

When the commissioners, who were dispatched to treat with him for the surrender of the city, and of his authority, arrived at Dublin, they likewise were inclined to impose such conditions upon him, as the distress to which they saw him reduced might oblige him to accept. But these he thought inconsistent with his honour and his duty, and therefore rejected their offers, and suffered them to depart without any agreement: but his distresses every day encreasing, and the inhabitants of the place growing discontented, he was at last constrained to yield on such terms as he could obtain; and, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1647, resigned the sword of authority, and departed from the kingdom which he had defended with so much fidelity, and governed with so much wisdom.

The

94 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The confederates durst no longer continue the siege, but retired when the new garrison was admitted, and returned into the country, where it was now necessary for them to unite against a more furious and potent enemy; and to provide for their defence, by strengthening their fortifications and encreasing their forces, ascertaining their intelligence, and storing their magazines.

Those that had adhered to the king and the marquis, were now without any advantage from their loyalty, being equally hated and suspected on every side. When the marquis left Dublin in this forlorn and calamitous condition, he could not forbear declaring, with that chearfulness which has been usually known to accompany great minds, that he expected some time to return in a state of power and prosperity of which there was not, at that time, any prospect; for the king was in the hands of his most implacable enemies, all his forces were suppressed, and all his garrisons surrendered.

The marquis, however, whose ardour for the service of his master did not depend upon fortune, went to attend him at Hampton-court, where he was then, as he himself termed, an honourable prisoner, his friends not being yet excluded by violence, though, undoubtedly, very much discountenanced,

Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity so long tried might justly

justly expect ; and, when he offered to resign the lieutenantancy, in which he had been able to effect so little, was told by the king, That he should keep his commission to a time of better fortune ; for that no other should have the satisfaction of enjoying that authority which he had used so well though so unsuccessfully.

The lord lieutenant then gave him an account of the state of the nation which he had left ; and, that his conduct might be the better understood, presented a Memorial ; most of which it is not improper to insert.

The MEMORIAL delivered to King
CHARLES I. by the Marquis of
ORMOND.

NOTWITHSTANDING your majesty's letter from Newcastle, forbidding any other treaty with the Irish ; and, notwithstanding their having failed to send the men conditioned for, without which, though it was questionable how I might have justified the doing thereof, your majesty's commander in that point considered, yet I agreed to a peace. Soon after the conclusion whereof, I had notice of the practices of the nuncio and clergy against the same ; their excommunicating of all that should adhere to the peace ; their interdicting all places where it was proclaimed ;
and

and forbidding, upon like penalties, the collection and payment of monies collected, to those formerly appointed thereto by their general assembly. All which, notwithstanding, to the end your majesty might reap the fruits of a peace, I had so far adventured to conclude, that I went to Kilkenny, being invited thither, and informed by divers, especially those of Preston's party, that my presence would soon remove the causes, or suppress the effect of the clergy's discontent.

When I came to Kilkenny, I found those who had concluded the peace with me, (by messengers from them; namely, Mr. Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Patrick Darcey) treating with the clergy at Waterford, under colour of endeavouring to appease them. Much heat there seemed to be betwixt them, and I really believe some of them were in earnest: but I easily discovered the drift of others was, either to force and confirm my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, or at least to engage myself in some new ones in point of religion. But considering how I was limited therein by your majesty, and how unbounded their demands would be, if I once gave way to any new treaty, I positively insisted upon their public faith already pledged, and absolutely refused to engage in any new treaty with the clergy: yet I assured them, that, without your majesty's directions, I would not dispossess them of the churches then in their possession, nor interrupt the jurisdiction of their clergy within
the

the quarters possessed by them; and that I would not understand any directions from your majesty in those particulars to be yours, till your majesty should be restored to a free condition; and, further, that I would obey all such commands as I shall receive from your majesty to their advantage.

Whilst these affairs were in agitation, and great hopes were given me, that this assurance would satisfy them, so as to bring me into the greater security; the nuncio, and his party, sent for Owen O'Neil to cut off my retreat to Dublin, and to force me to comply with their terms; or, as by the sequel is more probable, to destroy the small party of one thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse, I had brought with me as guards; which, if they had effected, being the best men of the army, Dublin, and other garrisons rendering obedience to your majesty's authority, would have been theirs with much ease, when their united forces should be drawn against them, as afterwards they were.

Upon notice of Owen O'Neile's being invited by the clergy, having reason to be jealous of his readiness to answer their summons, for that he had not caused the peace to be proclaimed in his army, as general Preston had, with great solemnity, done in his; I sent several letters and messages to general Preston, and to all I thought well affected, urging them to draw together, for the making good the peace they had so cheerfully received, and

98 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

for the preservation of themselves and their country from the rapine of the northern army, wherewith they had been acquainted.

By some I was answered, That their men were dispersed by their excommunications; by others, that they had no means to keep or draw them together; for that the collectors, terrified with the church censures, would pay them nothing; and to this effect was Preston's answer also: whereupon I sent to speak with him, if any thing from the clergy stuck with him; but he made his excuse, pretending sickness.

Notwithstanding all these ill signs, I yet determined to use all possible ways to try what might be done; and with this resolution went from Kilkenny to Carrick, and from thence towards Castel, where the peace had been proclaimed: but when I had got within two miles thereof, I met with a letter from the mayor, desiring me not to come thither, for that he and the town were threatened, if they received me, to be utterly destroyed by the northern army, then within a day's march of them.

The advance of that force in pursuit of me, the lord Dillon, and others who met me that day, gave me notice of. I was then also advertised, that Mac Thomas, as they call him, with the Munster horse, declared for the Romish clergy, and was within some small distance, drawing towards me: and, being thereof assured by the earl of Castlehaven and others

others, I quickly found myself forsaken by most of those who had received and proclaimed the peace: and having not had, before that time, so much as intelligence of Owen O'Neile's march, though his way was close by Preston, I conceived it then high time to look back towards my small party of foot, which I had left near Kilkenny; and accordingly, that night, I sent them orders to draw back towards Dublin; and, having myself marched all that night, the next day I quartered with the horse five miles short of them, at a garrison then in your majesty's power; but, having fresh intelligence that Owen O'Neile marched fast on the left hand of us, a nearer way towards Dublin, I hastened, and, by long marches, came to Dublin on the thirteenth of September, having been forth about three weeks: but neither in my march, going or coming, was there any violence offered to the country, nor was there any thing taken but what was paid for.

When we were come to Dublin, my lord Digby and I considered what was then to be done; and at last determined to make application to the parliament, upon conditions, and for reasons, to be otherwise imparted to your majesty.

Not long after my return to Dublin, I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Gerard Fennel, who were employed for the clergy, giving an account of their negotiation and their advices; which tending to a forbear-

ance of acts of hostility, I took hold of; and, in my answer, did, in a manner, beg a cessation, to the end that misunderstandings might be removed; and, if it were possible, the peace might yet be settled. But to this answer of mine there was no reply, not so much as any overture tending towards a looking into the former passages, or reconciling of differences: but the next news I heard was of their drawing forces together; raising of new; and, at length, of Owen O'Neile's summoning your majesty's garrisons, taking some upon conditions, and some by force, and using great cruelty to those that resisted. Preston was also drawing together his forces, but yet used no acts of hostility.

Whereupon I wrote letters to them both, to know what was the end and ground of their proceedings: whereon they severally returned me answers, by which I could gather nothing but assurance, that they intended the taking of all your majesty's garrisons, and destruction of your majesty's servant: and, though, by letters from colonel Fitz-Williams, I had some information of Preston's joining therein with Owen O'Neile, I could not believe, however his tender conscience might induce him to help us, though he was sufficiently engaged thereunto, that yet he would, contrary to so many protestations, appear actively against us; and therefore expostulated the matter with him in the best and least offensive manner I could: which produced no other answer than
certain

certain unreasonable propositions, whereunto I nevertheless returned a reasonable answer, desiring to be informed with whom I was to treat, and how they were authorised: whereunto I never had any reply; but, instead thereof, had such assurances that they fell to destroying your majesty's quarters, and at last to the blocking up the city of Dublin; which, for mere want of powder, whereof there was not, in his majesty's stores, fourteen barrels, they had carried: if, upon sending commissioners to treat with the parliament, according to what was resolved between my lord Digby and me, we had not gotten about thirty barrels from a sea-captain then in the bay of Dublin.

Whilst Preston and Owen O'Neile lay thus before the city, there arrived commissioners from both houses of parliament, with power to treat, and with supplies of men, money, and victuals; which, at such a time, being in want of food, and all necessaries for defence, and blocked up by two strong armies, by whom we expected hourly to be assaulted, they thought I durst not refuse, upon what conditions soever offered; or, if I did, that your majesty's army, and the inhabitants of Dublin, would rise against me. Yet they, wanting your majesty's directions for delivering unto them the places under your majesty's authority, and refusing to succour us upon any other terms, the treaty broke off; and they, with

their men, were sent away greatly displeased with me.

During the stay of those commissioners at Dublin, began the treaty between my lord Clanricard and general Preston, together with his officers; which, though I very much doubted, was drawn on, rather for fear of any agreement with the aforesaid commissioners, and to break off my treaty with them, than out of any real intention or inclination to peace and quietness: yet, Preston and his officers having so deeply and solemnly sworn to stand to the peace, and be thenceforth obedient to your majesty's authority, I suffered myself to be persuaded to undertake, and do, all things that by my lord Clanricard's engagement was expected from me, the receiving of a mastering power of Preston's men in your majesty's garrisons excepted; which, by all means possible was tried; though it was neither absolutely agreed to by my lord Clanricard, nor by him pressed to be assented unto: which pressure of theirs, in that point, added to my suspicion, that all their professions were the effects of a contrivance between the nuncio and Preston, to procure an entrance into, and the mastery of, Dublin; as since it hath appeared to be.

Yet still I resolved to drive them to a point, and being thereto invited by Preston's agreement with, and letters to, my lord Clanricard, I marched out, in hopes of the conjunction

tion of his forces with those few I was able to bring, according to his engagement: but, being come within a day's march of the place assigned, I met with a letter from Preston to the marquis of Clanricard to this effect: that his officers, not being excommunication-proof, were deserted from him to the nuncio's party; and therefore he advised me to proceed no farther, but expect the issue of a general assembly, that was to be at Kilkenny on the tenth of January following, where he doubted not but things would be set right by the consent of the whole kingdom; which would be much more for his majesty's service, than to attempt the forcing of a peace upon those that were averse to it.

Though I was little satisfied with that disappointment, and feared that the power of the clergy had, to frustrate a peace, concluded by virtue of the best authority, any person in their case could delegate, would rather encrease than diminish by the time that was given them to work in; and though I could not apprehend how it could be possible for me, in the mean time, to maintain the army; or, when it should come to want, to keep off the city, that would be raised for a new address to the parliament, the Irish having so often deceived us, yet, that they might be left without any excuse, I resolved, through all difficulties and hazards, to expect the issue of that assembly; but, for the ease of our quarters, which were so wasted by the enemy's lying before Dublin.

and the destruction that I was forced to make upon their approach, that they were utterly unable to maintain the half of that little army.

I drew out as many more to the men I had with me, as made them, in all, about one thousand two hundred foot and six hundred horse, and with them marched into their quarters; where, notwithstanding their provocations by several breaches of faith, aggravated by high and cruel acts of hostility, I suffered no violence to be done upon any man's person or goods; or any thing to be taken but necessary provisions of meat and drink; though, during my abode in this friendly manner among them, the captain and lieutenant of my guard were barbarously murdered upon the high-way, having stayed at a town a little while after their company was marched away, in confidence of the good affection professed by the country: and, though not only their new-elected council had proclaimed us enemies, and commanded hot war to be made upon us; but, which was more contrary to my expectation, they had prevailed with Preston to disavow any obligation upon him, by the transaction with my Lord Clancard; at length, after all our pains taken to make the nobility and gentry understand, how much the honour and security of their nation was concerned, in the vindication of their public faith, and in their submission to your majesty's authority: after all the hopes we could

could desire was given us by all the considerable men of English extraction, and by some well affected of Irish extraction; and after six weeks patient endurance, and very inconvenient and hazardous removals, from place to place, in the depth of winter; there came forth from the assembly that strange declaration that at once acquitted those that had concluded the peace, as men fully entrusted, and faithfully discharging that trust; and yet declared the peace so concluded to be void.

Soon after there came forth certain propositions offered them by their clergy, which they approved of, and solemnly swore to insist upon them; which were such as, I well knew, your majesty would never consent to upon any consideration.

Here, I humbly conceive, your majesty will judge there was a full period to all our hopes from the Irish: and now your majesty may please to understand, that, upon the first advancement of the armies under Preston and Owen O'Neill's leading to the city of Dublin, I applied myself for succour to the Scots in the north of Ireland; by whose answer, sent by one captain Cunningham, both in writing and verbally, and also by papers that passed from the Scots commissioners in England, and more particularly those said to be the speeches of the chancellor of Scotland, I conceived some hopes, that, possibly, some use might be made of them for the preservation of your majesty's interest in Ireland: whereunto to invite them,

I employed my best endeavours, by my answers to Cunningham, and by sending soon after him major Gibson, a man of approved genius; but he returning to me with an unsatisfactory answer to my propositions, I instructed Sir George Hamilton, and sent him from Dublin, to attend your majesty, then, as I hoped, upon good terms with your Scottish subjects at Newcastle: and, in his way, he was instructed to make trial, once more, of the affections of the Scotch army.

He began his journey at the time I was drawing forth upon Preston's invitation; but, through sickness, was obliged to stay some days at Dundalk; and, during his stay there, he desired an interview with colonel John Hamilton; which being given him, he from him understood the resolution taken by the parliament of Scotland, and by their army, to deliver your majesty to the houses of parliament in England; and, with a sad assurance thereof, Sir George returned to me to Trym, where he found me, and the party I had with me, in such want of provision, and so harrassed, that, within a few days, after having made some successful inroads into the county of Cavan, for the gaining of cattle; and hearing from your majesty's council at Dublin, that the inhabitants there, being brought to extreme poverty, flatly refused longer to contribute towards the support of the army; I was forced to return to Dublin.

There

There, upon consideration of our weak and desperate condition, and of the approach of the spring, which would certainly bring some enemy against us, it was unanimously resolved by your majesty's council, that it was more for your majesty's honour and interest, to put Dublin, and all the garrisons that remained in obedience to your majesty, into the hands of the two houses of parliament in England, than to suffer them to be taken by the Irish : and, for this opinion, some of the reasons were,

First, It was doubted it would give too much advantage to these calumnies that had been cast upon your majesty, of too much favouring the popish religion, if all the churches in the quarters, yielding obedience to your majesty, should be given, or suffered to be taken, to the use of that religion ; and the exercise of the protestant religion either totally suppressed, or, at the best, be allowed, by connivance in corners, a favour not then afforded to any within the Irish quarters.

Secondly, It was feared it might reflect on your majesty's honour, if those subjects of yours, that had so constantly served you, and still continued so to do, long after your majesty had no one place, that I can call to mind, holding for you in all your three kingdoms, should, at last, be subjected to the tyranny of those that then ruled among the Irish ; from whom what usage they were to

expect, was obvious by their frequent perfidies, by the usage of others of your majesty's subjects fallen into their hands.

A third reason was, upon the consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared to us, that, if the places we held were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majesty when, either by treaty, or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England, and that, in all probability, without expence of treasure or blood.

The marquis, though he had the satisfaction of finding that his endeavours, however unprosperous, were well accepted, and that he still retained the favour of his sovereign, was yet, by no means, in a state of happiness or safety; for he was not only afflicted with the misfortunes of his master, who was then visibly losing the little influence and respect which his character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among those who now had him in their power; but he was likewise himself harrassed with personal difficulties; the debts which he had contracted for the public service were now required to be discharged.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, six months to liquidate them; but this term being very near expired, he made his apprehension from them the pretext for going off privately; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-house, dated on the

the fifteenth of February, 1648, requiring him to send them, upon his parole of honour, and under his own hand, an assurance that he would not, during his residence in England, do any thing in disservice of the parliament; and he had no inclination to be served with this order. He was also sensible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted no pretence to seize upon his person, for which he had been advised a warrant was actually issued.

It was therefore prudent to provide for his king's interest, by securing his own liberty; and crossing the country from Acton, about ten miles distant from Bristol, where he had fixed his residence, the better to carry on the correspondence he had entered into with the lord Inchiquin, took shipping at Hastings, in Sussex, landed at Diepe, and went to pay his duty to the queen and prince at Paris; where he corresponded with the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, in Scotland, by the means of Sir John Hamilton; and, by the intervention of colonel John Barry, kept up, in Ireland, the correspondence he had before settled with lord Inchiquin, who, sincerely affected to monarchy and the English constitution, was resolved, at all hazards, seeing the Independants take large strides towards the murder of the king, and depression of the nobility, to serve and restore his majesty.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general assembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the queen

TWO BRITISH PLUTARCH

queen and prince, to treat of a peace, as the only expedient to save the kingdom. The marquis was consulted, and gave his opinion on the demands they brought, and the method necessary to be followed to promote his majesty's interest; to which it was thought the marquis might greatly contribute by his return thither; and he not only designed it, but made what provision he was able, to that end, equally wished and urged by the well-affected among the confederates; and by the lord Inchiquin, on whom they chiefly depended; but it was necessary, previously, to reconcile some animosities between him, Inchiquin, and lord Broghill, general of the horse; which, if not removed, might much obstruct the measures of the former, notwithstanding they had equally his majesty's interest at heart; wherefore he thought it absolutely necessary to reconcile these two, that they might unite in the support of the royal cause.

Having been assured of Inchiquin's resolution, he endeavoured, even before he left England, to engage Broghill in, and found him as ready as he could have wished, to enter upon so glorious an enterprize: nay, he found his lordship, generous enough to make his resentments give place to the royal service, and willing to be the first in his advances to a reconciliation with Inchiquin: which was extremely well received by the queen and prince; but the parliament of England alter-
ing

ing their proposed measures, rendered abortive the views of the marquis and these noblemen.

The marquis's return to Ireland being, as affairs then stood, the only method that could be taken to save the kingdom, made him very importunate with the French court for the necessary supplies; but he was long delayed, and, at length, put off with such a trifling sum, that it was consumed in necessaries for the voyage and the subsistence of his attendants before he could get his dispatches from St. Germain and embark for Ireland. However, he arrived in that kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by Inchiquin, landing at Cork on the twenty-ninth of September, 1648, with no more than thirty French pistoles for his military chest.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and prince to conclude a peace with the Irish; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and with this ratification, which was by letter only, he received his majesty's commands to disobey all public orders, which he should give him, while under restraint.

The uniting Ireland in his majesty's interests was the only visible means to save his life, and the only proposed end of the marquis's return to that kingdom. With this view he published a declaration, on the sixth of October, in which he mentions his having delivered

112. BRITISH PLUTARCH.

delivered up Dublin to the parliament, with his reasons for so doing. He declares, That he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty's rights; and observes, that the protestant army, in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king's person and right, was esteemed by the king as a reasonable expression of their loyalty. That he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion, for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament, and the liberty of the press.

He declares, that he is not at the hazard of his life, opposite all rebellions. That he shall refuse obedience to his majesty in the terms he shall require it, and call for the suppression of the Independent. That he shall prevent all distrust from former differences. He declares himself fully authorized to assure them, that no distinction shall be made on any such account; but, that all who are engaged in the cause should be treated with equal regard and favour. That the poor should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance, &c.

The marquis, though unassisted, entered upon the treaty of peace with the confederates, and, after having, with indefatigable zeal, unwearied diligence, labour, and exemplary steady loyalty, surmounted many difficulties,

culties, it was at length concluded ; but not till some days preceding that execrable parricide was perpetrated.

The marquis was inexpressibly grieved when he received an account of the king's murder, though it was what he had long foreseen, as knowing his enemies capable of the most enormous crimes. He immediately caused the prince to be proclaimed in all the towns which were subject to royal authority.

The marquis was every where beset with difficulties to struggle with, arising from ambitious pretensions never to be proportioned to please all ; and, as the disappointed were also the most obstinate, he saw the Roman clergy endeavouring to seduce the minds of the people ; and others to whom he commanded a body of six thousand foot and three thousand horse, of discipline and skill experienced of the Irish forces, would, upon no terms but his own, listen to the Irish commissioners could not be induced to comply with, listen to any accommodations, hoping to make good conditions with the Independants in England, with whom a negotiation was carrying on by the abbe Crelly and the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, O'Neile designing to quit Ireland and enter into that service.

Add to these obstructions to the king's service, the avarice and partiality to friends of the commissioners for raising money in the country ; the great want of that and provisions,

sions, and the Confederates reducing a great number of forces, under pretence that the provinces could not pay them; and these men going over to, and enlisting with, O'Neill, it is easy, without enumerating more, to judge the perplexing situation of the marquis.

There was one remedy to all these evils, the presence of the king; which he advised and earnestly pressed, both when he was prince, and after the murder of his royal father, as it would have strengthened his party by the accession of O'Neill; and, if not all, of the greater part, of Jones's army; have put an end to many troublesome pretensions, and have united the kingdom in his service; which was obstructed even by those who were sent to assist the marquis; and who, through envy to him, avarice, indolence, pride, or concealed views, slighted his advice, and rendered the aid he had expected from the fleet altogether vain, though it might have been of the most signal service in distressing the enemy and reducing the kingdom.

His majesty, convinced by the strength of his excellency's arguments, resolved upon following his advice, and passing over into Ireland; but was frustrated in his design by the Scotch commissioners, who were sent from the convention in Scotland to him in Holland, with most insolent propositions; and by the mean artifice of the deputies of the states, who warmly espoused their cause.

The

The marquis, left alone to struggle with innumerable difficulties, was not, however, discouraged; his spirits seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter; for, with a small army, without money, without provisions, but not without disgusts among themselves, not entirely to be depended upon, and at the same time advised of a design to assassinate him, he meditated a design upon Dublin, which might have been easily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous for his majesty's service. The taking of this city would undoubtedly have been the reduction of the whole kingdom, and might probably have been the means of wresting out of the possession of the usurper those of England and Scotland.

The marquis being obliged to raise the blockade of Dublin, by Cromwell's having landed there with forces, money, and provisions; and by the death of O'Neile, with whom he was in treaty, and had gained over to his majesty's interest, broke the measures of his excellency, and changed his situation from an offensive to a defensive war.

He was at the same time destitute of money and provision to keep his troops together; and by his authority, being greatly clogged by that of the commissioners co-ordinate of the Confederates, without whose concurrence he could do nothing among the Irish.

Being thus cramped in power, he again thought the king's presence absolutely necessary,

sary, as that of the Co-ordinates was then to cease. Notwithstanding the marquis had written to his majesty to wait the success of his attempt upon Dublin, though there was no apparent danger for the king's person. But his majesty having sent to the marquis for a state of affairs in Ireland, and for his opinion as to his going thither, at the same time sending him the garter, though by his answer he gave his majesty a melancholy account of the situation of that kingdom, yet he urged his coming into it, for which he gave his reasons; but, before his letter reached Jersey, where the king then was, the Scottish policy had removed from about his person, by the specious pretences of his service, his ablest counsellors; and his majesty's deviating from his former resolutions, agreed to the Scots propositions of the like tenor with those he had rejected in Holland; and was prevailed upon to desert his father's and his own best friends, and bring a stain upon his reputation, when he had, in a manner, nothing else to depend upon; and, by playing the hypocrite, destroyed that confidence so essentially necessary to the honour and interests of a prince, that his subjects should repose in his character.

The marquis, having, with unparalleled resolution and constancy, struggled against such a sweeping torrent, which had collected the streams of every obstructive evil, finding all endeavours vain; in 1650, hopeless of preserving the kingdom in his majesty's obedience,

ence, and, at the same time, anxious for his own character, as knowing censure was the inseparable attendant on disasters, however unavoidable, entreated his majesty to recall him, and obtained his consent to withdraw; but yet would not, disagreeable as was his situation, and insincere as he found the bishops, whom he convened to consult on the distracted state of the nation, prefer his own quiet to his majesty's interests, and leave the kingdom, while he had the least probability, on which he could ground any hope of its preservation, the only point he had in view, and which engrossed his whole attention; but which the power and refractoriness of the clergy; the absolute and insuperable obstinacy of Limerick and Galway; the former having received propositions and listened to overtures from the rebels without his consent, or even knowledge, made it impossible for him to accomplish; even, either to gather, or keep together, an army, or prevent his being enclosed by the enemy, and with all who withstood them, be given into their hands by treachery.

He had no longer the least hopes of success, and consequently his longer stay in Ireland could no way be of service to his majesty's interest, if not by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, and farther his majesty's designs to attack England with a Scottish army, by causing some diversion in Ireland.

These

These considerations were, however, sufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was absolutely impossible for him to contribute any thing to the keeping it in obedience to his majesty, notwithstanding the groundless and incredible aspersions cast on him by the clergy, who at length rejected the king's authority, and insisted on his lieutenant's quitting the kingdom; nay, to such a height of presumption did they arrive, that they sent him a message, desiring him to leave Ireland without delay; to which his loyalty prevailed on him to return a mild answer, though he had vainly appointed them to meet and confer with him; and they had replied, by a declaration against continuing of his majesty's authority in the lord-lieutenant; excommunicating all that should adhere to, assist, support, give him intelligence, or obey his commands: their design being to throw off the English government, and to subject Ireland to some foreign Roman catholic power.

His last effort for the king's service was the calling a general assembly at Loughreah, in which he acquainted them with his design of departing, requiring them to consider on the most probable means of preserving the kingdom from utter ruin.

Having the king's permission, and being again requested by the clergy, he put to sea on the eleventh of December, and, in about three weeks, after a tempestuous voyage, landed

landed at Perost, in Basse-Bretagne, leaving the marquis of Clanricard deputy of the kingdom ; of the affairs of which it is foreign to our design to take any farther notice than as they coincide with what relates to the marquis, who having landed in France in the beginning of January, 1651, after a few days stay with his family at Caen, went, on the twenty-first, to pay his duty to the queen at Paris, and acquaint her majesty with the state of affairs in Ireland ; which having done, he returned to his family, where he continued till the latter end of June.

He made a second journey to Paris to wait on the duke of York. He there remained a month, the duke requiring his assistance in settling and proportioning the expence of his family to his small pension of four thousand pistoles a year allowed him by the court of France.

This being done, he again visited and stayed with his family till his majesty escaped from the battle of Worcester, and from the pursuit and narrow search made for him returned to Paris. The marquis was reduced at this time to great streights, being obliged to board himself at a pistole a week ; to walk on foot, which is not very reputable at Paris, and his family not able longer to subsist in Caen ; for the pension granted to his majesty not exceeding six thousand pistoles, barely sufficed for his own table, consequently there was nothing to be expected for his servants.

These

These circumstances made it necessary, for the support of the marquis's family, that the marchioness should go over to England, and solicit the parliament for an allowance of her own hereditary estate. She at length obtained an order of parliament to authorize the commissioners for Irish affairs, to set apart, for a provision for her and her children, the clear yearly value of two thousand pounds out of her own inheritance, with Donemore-house, near Kilkenny, for her abode, where she continued, and never saw her lord till after the king's restoration.

The marquis attended his majesty at Paris till the treaty between the court of France and Cromwell made the king's departure from that kingdom indispensably necessary: wherefore, having obtained of the cardinal Mazarine barely sufficient to pay his debts, and defray the expences of his journey, he set out from Paris for Spaw, where meeting his sister, the princess of Orange, they went together to Aix la Chapelle; and, after a few months stay in that town, his majesty, attended by the marquis, who had never quitted him, went to Cologne; but hardly had he been there three months, before he was ordered back to Paris, to wait on the duke of Gloucester from thence to Cologne, Cromwell having, at the latter end of the year 1652, permitted his royal highness to depart England. After having conducted the duke to the king, he was ordered

to

to the Hague, to attend the princess royal to his majesty.

The marquis, early in the spring, was sent to the duke of Newburg, to engage him to employ his interest at the court of Brussels, to engage their espousing his majesty's cause, and for promoting an alliance between the king of England and the king of Spain, the duke being in perfect amity with the Spaniards, and desirous to serve the king of England. He, however, for very substantial reasons, thought any overtures of this nature might, at that juncture, rather prejudice than advance his majesty's interests.

The peace concluded between France and Cromwell, another between him and Portugal; and the taking Jamaica, made it the interest of the Spanish court to distress Cromwell as much as possible; but, notwithstanding the above treaty had been entered upon, it went on but slowly; and his majesty, till the arrival of Don John, obtained no more than the permission of residing incognito at Bruges; and a promise of the assistance of six thousand men, with a quantity of arms and ammunition to make a descent, when he should be master of a good port in England. With Don John he entered into a new treaty, which afforded him an immediate support of three thousand crowns a month.

His majesty lost no time in removing into Flanders, and from thence sent for the duke of York to come to him at Bruges; which

command his royal highness obeyed, having, before he set out, engaged some of the chief Irish officers then in the French service. His majesty formed five or six regiments of such of his subjects as were then in the Spanish service, and of those who had left that of the French, which were by much the greater number, and mostly Irish. The marquis had the command of one of those regiments.

The king entertained some hopes, from his treaty with the Spaniards, which had raised those of his subjects, who sent him several messengers to assure him of their readiness to join him; but Don Juan, who saw plainly, by the account he received, that a person of eminent credit with the king, to conduct the design, was wanting, would not hazard the Spanish forces.

The marquis, in this exigence, generously offered to go to England in disguise, and act in the manner that should be most conducive to his majesty's interest, either as a chief or as a subaltern; which was, with some reluctance, accepted by the king. He accordingly came over, but soon was convinced, that all hopes from the cavalier's zeal were built upon a sandy foundation.

The marquis found an aversion from the government, which at that time possessed all parties; but such mutual jealousies among one another, that an intercourse was impracticable. In short, he returned with no other fruits reaped, than the certainty that all hopes of
any

any thing being done by the Cavaliers, for his majesty, were entirely vain; though the general inclination to throw off the yoke of the usurper was so great, that, had the king been supported by a foreign force, his lordship thought a restoration would meet with but small resistance.

This made his majesty solicit the Spanish ministry, who flattered, but failed, his expectations. The marquis, in the interim, stayed at Paris, in almost as much danger of imprisonment there as of death in London, Cromwell having sent to the cardinal to get him secured.

- The king, deluded by the Spaniards, sent for the marquis to attend him to Brussels; but, as it was dangerous for him to go near any part of the frontiers towards Flanders, he rode to Lyons; from thence to Geneva; and, passing through the palatinate, went to Dusseldorp, and from thence to Brussels.

The king, disgusted with the Spanish ministers, who amused him with vain hopes, withdrew from Brussels to Hookstraten, Cromwell being dead; and the Dutch seemed to take a favourable turn. The marquis, to forward his master's interest, which he hoped by such means to strengthen, agreed to his son's second marriage with Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Nassau, lord of Beverweert, natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange; with a fortune of only ten thousand pounds.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

EARL of OSSORY.

THIS young nobleman has been made such honourable mention of by all our historians, that, in this place, we shall give some Memoirs of his Life, which was cut off before his father's.

He was named Thomas, and born in the castle of Kilkenny, on the ninth of July, 1634. In 1647, he went into England with his father, when he quitted the government of Ireland, and staid in London, till the duke of Ormond, going in disguise to escape beyond the sea, passing near the town, took him with him to France.

When his grace, in 1648, returned to Ireland, lord Ossory was left with his brother, lord Richard Butler, under the tuition of a French minister, at Caen, in whose house he boarded: but, in October, 1649, they went both to Paris, to Monsieur de Camp's academy, where lord Ossory grew expert in every exercise, and gained great reputation.

In

In December, 1650, he came back to Caen to his mother, the duchess of Ormond. The duchess soon after going into England, he accompanied her; where, in March, 1655, he was put, by Cromwell's order, into the Tower. There was no particular thing laid to his charge; his crime was, being conversant among the dangerous men, and one who would expose his life for the king on the first occasion.

The guard that came to secure him at Wild-house, departed upon the duchess's assurance of his appearing the next morning. His lordship was not in the house at that time, and Mr. Stephen Ludlow finding him, told him how matters stood; and, that, if he were inclined to make his escape, there was a vessel ready to carry him abroad: but her grace having promised that he should be forth coming, was against that step, and persuaded him to go very early the next morning to attend the protector at Whitehall. He stayed there, in the drawing-room, till three in the afternoon, sending in several messages, but receiving no answer to any, till Baxter told him, he was commanded to provide him a lodging in the Tower.

Thus, without being examined or admitted to the protector, he was hurried away thither in a hackney-coach, and there remained till October following; when, falling ill of a dangerous fever, and the physicians certifying

that he could not live without change of air, he was released, and suffered to go down into Gloucestershire : but continuing still very ill, and the physicians advising him to try a foreign air, a pass was, with much difficulty, procured him ; upon which his brother, lord Richard, went with him as one of his servants.

They landed in Flanders, but soon removed into Holland, where lord Ossory continued, not daring to come near the king as long as Cromwell lived, for fear it should be a pretence for taking away from the duchess the tenancy of her own estate ; which she had, at last, obtained and got settled by the favour of Henry Cromwell.

In November, 1659, the earl of Ossory was married to Emilia, daughter of Monsieur de Beverweertz, natural son of the prince of Orange, governor of Sluys, and all its dependencies, and a very leading man in the assembly of the States-general.

After the restoration, coming into England, he was made, by patent, colonel of foot in Ireland, on the eighth of February, 1661 ; and colonel and captain of horse, by a like patent, on the thirteenth of June. On the nineteenth of the same month, he was made lieutenant-general of the horse by another patent ; and, on the sixteenth of August, 1665, appointed lieutenant-general of the army in that kingdom.

In the year last mentioned, he was at Euston, in Norfolk, when the four days fight happened with the Dutch; and hearing the guns from sea, he and Sir Thomas Clifford found means, from Harwich, to get on board the duke of Albermarle's ship, the duke being then retiring, and fighting as he retreated, to preserve the smaller vessels, which he caused to sail before him, while he faced the enemy with the larger. The earl brought his grace the first news he had, that prince Rupert was ordered back from the west to join his fleet.

When the Dutch fleet pressed hard upon the duke, lord Ossory said to him, He saw no help but that he must be taken. But his grace replied, No, he knew how to prevent that; and when, upon the danger encreasing, his lordship was more curious to know how he would avoid being taken, the duke answered, He would blow up the ship. This brave resolution was so agreeable to lord Ossory's own sentiments, that he ever had his grace in great esteem.

He was at this time very well with lord Arlington; and, in April, 1666, contracted that alliance by this nobleman's marrying Mademoiselle Isabella de Beverweert, sister to the countess of Ossory, which cemented a friendship between them that lasted till late past an end to the life of the former.

Lord Arlington always shewed a passionate regard for the earl of Ossory in all his con-

cerns," on all occasions, assisting him with his interest and councils to the very last: and, on the other hand, when lord Arlington was going to be impeached by the commons, and the matter was debated five days together in the house, lord Ossory stood every day, like a solicitor, in the lobby, pressing the members with the most earnest entreaties, and neglecting nothing till he had carried the point in his favour.

In the same year, the earl of Ossory, upon his father's resignation of the place, was made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king; and, in June following, was sworn of the privy-council of England.

Soon after, by a writ, bearing date, on the fourteenth of September, he was called to the parliament, then sitting at Westminster, by the title of lord Butler, of Moor park, and took his place there accordingly on the tenth day of the same month. In May, 1640, he waited on his majesty to Dover, when he went to meet the duchess of Orleans.

In October, that year, the king being desirous to see his nephew, the prince of Orange, sent the earl for his highness. His lordship accordingly set sail for Holland, attended by several yachts; and, about the latter end of that month, put him and his train on shore at Margate, in Kent.

In February following, he waited on the prince back to the Hague; went from thence to view the French king's new conquests in Flanders;

Flanders; and proceeded to the court of France, with a design of serving that monarch as a volunteer, in an expedition then intended by his most christian majesty, in person, towards Alsace: but the king having altered his resolutions, he returned, by the way of Holland, into England: and, in April, 1671, the prince of Orange sent him a present to London, being a bason and ewer of massy gold.

In June, 1671, the earl went for Flanders, designing to go to the siege of Brunswick; but understanding there that all differences were accommodated, he returned by the Hague into England.

In January, 1671-2, he had a commission to command the *Resolution*, a third rate man of war; and another, in April, 1672, to command the *Victory*, a second rate. After the Solebay fight, on the third of June, he sent Mr. Mullys to visit the sick and wounded seamen in St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark; and to relieve them according as he found their necessities. Pursuant to his orders, Mr. Mullys gave to them he found most maimed forty shillings; to such as had less hurt, twenty shillings; and to those who had the slightest wounds, ten shillings a-piece.

In September, that year, he was elected knight of the garter, and installed at Windsor on the twenty-third of the next month. In November following, he was sent envoy-

extraordinary to the court of France, with compliments of condolence to that king upon the death of Louis Francis, of France, duke of Anjou. He was highly caressed in that court, and treated, in some respects, as a prince of the blood. The king pressed him to take a command in his army, and bid him ask what appointments he pleased; adding, " & j' en feray au dela. I will do even more. I know," said he, " you are born to a great estate; yet, while your father lives, you are in the condition of a cadet." His lordship excusing himself, the king sent Monsieur de Louvois the next day to his lodgings; who told him the king was pleased to bestow a command upon him; and desired him to ask what command he would have; and, that, in asking, he might be as bold as a lion. His lordship returned him a compliment in answer: upon which he said, " Come, my lord, I see you are modest, let me speak for you; will twenty thousand pistoles for an equipage, and ten thousand pistoles a year do? If not, say what you will have, and chuse what command you please." The earl still declined the offer, saying he was already engaged in the sea-service of his own prince in the war against the Dutch. At his parting from the court of France he was presented with a jewel of two thousand pounds value.

In May, 1673, the king gave him the command of the *St. Michael*, a first-rate ship,

JAMES BUTLER. 131

ship, and made him rear-admiral of the blue squadron, for that great sea-fight against the Dutch which happened shortly after. Sir Edward Spragge commanded in chief that squadron in the engagement, being on board the Prince; but that ship being disabled in the fight, with Van Trump, and Spragge himself slain, as he was going in his boat on board another ship, his lordship lay to defend the Prince from being fired, or taken, by the enemy; and, towards night, brought her off in tow, and joined prince Rupert's squadron.

He was then made rear-admiral of the red squadron, and, towards the close of that summer's expedition, in September, he was sent to the Buoy in the Nore to command the fleet there lying, in chief; and to wear the flag of union on his main-top-mast-head. This was attended with a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds settled upon him, as having had that command and privilege, it being a usual establishment, given of course, or by the king's courtesy, to all who have had the honour of the flag.

It was at the latter end of the same year, that he formed a design upon Helvoetsluys, where, when he was last in Holland, he had seen, with indignation, the Royal Charles, taken by the Dutch at Chatham, lain up, with all the Maes squadron, as in a secure harbour.

Being desirous, from that time, of an opportunity to revenge the disgrace that this nation suffered at Ghatham, by returning another of the like nature upon Holland, he received advice from a correspondent in that country, that this place, where twenty-two of the largest Dutch men of war were lain up, close by one another, and, which, for its great importance, used to be well guarded, was then left with only a small garrison of two companies of foot; and, that the batteries, at the entrance of the port, were in no good condition.

His lordship thereupon sent Monsieur St. Paul, his gentleman of the horse, who, tho' a Frenchman, spoke very good Dutch, and, having married a Dutch woman of the Hague, had acquaintance in that town, and the country about it, to take an exact account of the place, and to bring him a plan.

St. Paul executed his commission with much industry, exactness, and great hazard of life; and, when he brought the account of it to White-hall, his majesty was so pleased with it, that he promised him a considerable reward for his pains, though he never had it. The execution of the design appearing very feasible, the earl obtained the king's orders and instructions to go, with ten frigates and two thousand land-men, to make a descent at Helvoetsluyt, and to destroy the Royal Charles and such other ships as he found there.

Every

Every thing was ready; but, on the same night he was to take his leave, he received the king's countermand, which gave him great vexation. Sir John Narborough, who was to command next his lordship, in this expedition, knew the coasts of Holland, and the port of Helvoetsluys, perfectly well, and was to discharge the part of chief-pilot in the action.

When the king made difficulties in the matter, Sir John told him, He would undertake, at the peril of his head, to carry in the ships at half flood; and the earl undertook to tell his majesty, That he would fire the Dutch ships with a halfpenny candle, or he should place his head upon Westminster-hall, by Cromwell's, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed.

It was, in truth, the easiness of executing so great an enterprize, that caused it to be thwarted by a very great man, who was jealous of the glory that would thence redound to the earl of Ossory. Mr. Ellis was afterwards upon the place with his lordship, who found the plan St. Paul had brought him very exact, and the thing as easy to have been executed as he had before imagined.

In November, 1674, the earl was sent into Holland about the match between the prince of Orange and the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of York. On the eighteenth of November, 1676, he was made lord-chamberlain

berlain to the queen, Don Francisco de Melo, the Portuguese ambassador, who was also her chamberlain, being displaced on a complaint of the bishop of London for licensing popish books.

The prince of Orange sending over M. Bentick to England, recommended him by letter to the earl of Ossory, and to his father, to assist him in proposing the match with the lady Mary; but these noblemen advised him to apply to the earl of Danby, then lord-treasurer, lest he should oppose it if moved by any other. The affair succeeded, and the prince had leave to come over at the end of the campaign.

In February following, the earl of Ossory went into Holland, to enter upon the command of general of the king of Great-Britain's subjects in the pay of the states. It was in the campaign of that year, and at the conclusion of the war, that the memorable battle of Mone was fought, in which the famous marshal of Luxemburgh was forced to retreat, and the earl of Ossory gained so much glory. The states of Holland, the duke of Villaharman, governor of the Low-Countries, and the king of Spain himself, in a letter under his own hand, acknowledged the great services he had performed in the campaign.

In April, 1678, he was restored to the privy-council, of which the earl of Shaftsbury was made president, and was soon after designed

JAMES BUTLER. 135

designed to be governor of Tangiers, then besieged by the Moors : but, as he was preparing to go there with a considerable brigade, he died, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the general regret of this nation.



C O N.

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of the

DUKE OF ORMOND.

WE left the marquis of Ormond at the time of king Charles's restoration. On such an event as his majesty's trusty servants could not but meet the rewards due to the merit of such a long series of adversity, with which, supported by their loyalty, they had long struggled; the marquis was sworn a member of the privy-council, made lord-steward of the household, lord-lieutenant of Somersetshire; high-steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol; and restored to his dignity of chancellor of the university of Dublin; and there he restored all such fellows as had been ejected for their loyalty.

His majesty gave back to him the county of Tipperary, together with the same privileges and regalities which his family had, for some centuries, enjoyed with the other. He was, after this, created earl of Brecknock, and baron of Lanthony, in England; and, by that parliament, restored to his whole estate.

The marquis, soon after the restoration, found means to do a considerable and acceptable

ble service to the English families in Ireland, by preventing the insertion of some clauses in the act of indemnity, which must have proved their ruin.

The king, in consideration of the marquis's services, made him very liberal grants; and, as his royal father had, in 1642, conveyed to the marquis, all the right, title, and interest, which the crown had, or might have, to the lands forfeited by the rebellion of the vassals of the said marquis; of which grant had the marquis taken the benefit, it had been an immense improvement of his estate. The king's letters patent, which put him into the rest of his estate, make honourable mention of his loyal and eminent services.

The prebend of wine, a perquisite belonging to the marquis and his family, as butler of Ireland, having been, during the usurpation, charged with an impost, the king ordered it to be taken off.

On the thirteenth of February, 1661, the marquis was joined with the duke of Albermarle, and others, to determine the claims usually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. On the thirtieth of March, he was made duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being elevated lord-high-steward of England, he assisted in that capacity at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April, and carried St. Edward's crown.

In the grand affair of the settlement of Ireland, the duke was inclined to do all possible service to the Irish; but as they not only rejected his advice, but even fell foul of his character, he resolved not to intermeddle in that affair, and his name appeared not in any one committee to which it was referred, till after he was lord-lieutenant; which employment he accepted, after the duke of Albermarle had declined it, on account of the jarring interests of the different parties. It was the duke of Ormond's entire submission to the will of his master, which prevailed with him to enter upon an employment, the inconveniencies of which he well foresaw; and, speaking of it to a friend, said, "Beside many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with; and the others suspecting I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamour and scandal, upon my most equal and wary deportment."

Four days after the duke of Ormond was declared lord-lieutenant, the agents of the parliament of Ireland had an audience of the king; when the bishop of Elphin, in the name of the lords, expressed their joy at the name of a person of whom ~~his~~ ^{his} lordship gave the highest encomia, and under whose conduct, he

he said, the kingdom of Ireland could not but speedily flourish. Sir A. Mervin, in the name of the commons, ~~also~~ gave his majesty thanks for having named the duke to be lord-lieutenant ; and the news was received in Ireland with public rejoicings.

The parliament of Ireland, in 1662, considering the great losses the duke had sustained by his services to the crown, and the expence which his grace must necessarily fall into, to support the dignity of his post, made him a present of thirty thousand pounds.

The king's marriage deferred the duke's departure for Ireland, to the beginning of July, when he set out from London, and arrived in Dublin on the twenty-seventh of that month, where he was splendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had before seen was soon verified ; for, though he acted with the strictest integrity and impartiality, and kept his master's service, yet he could not avoid the resentment of numbers, who applied to him for what he could not grant consistent with his duty. Whence arose new clamours, and his administration was not only rendered uneasy to him, but the course of his majesty's affairs was interrupted, by some who were favourably held at court.

An act of settlement, and some others, were passed on the twenty-seventh of September, when he made an excellent speech, well
adapted

140 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

adapted to promote a mutual confidence, and a perfect harmony, between the king and his subjects ; which the two houses desired might be printed.

One of the first things to which the duke applied himself, was the purging the army by disbanding the disaffected. The Exchequer being empty, he paid their arrears out of his own pocket, as it was a service which admitted no delay.

The Fanatics in England, who meditated a new commonwealth, flattered themselves with the assistance of these forces, and with the concurrence of the Presbyterians, discontented by the act of uniformity, and the resolution of the parliament to support the act, put the sectaries upon making an insurrection, hoping strength from Scotland, but more from Ireland, to support their attempts. Many of the Irish were, by the court of claims, to be repossessed of their estates ; which making the adventurers and soldiers, every one for himself, fear being thrust out of the lands they enjoyed, occasioned great clamours against the proceedings of that court, and the designs of the government ; and some of the most furious spirits resolving to keep by the sword what estates they enjoyed, readily engaged with that party.

An insurrection was intended, a conspiracy formed, and a private committee appointed for conducting the affair ; but the whole was discovered

discovered to the duke. Blood was one of the committee. But, notwithstanding this intelligence, the duke owed his preservation to his own vigilance; for the day pitched upon to seize him and surprize the castle was the tenth of March, of which he had notice; but the conspirators altering the time, and fixing it on the fifth, his informer was ignorant of the change till near the hour of its designed execution. The duke, however, was on his guard; of which the traitors having some information, the attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

In the year 1670, the duke's unalterable zeal for his majesty's service, engaged his protection of the Irish Remonstrants. These were the Catholics who opposed the violences of the pope's nuncio; but the Anti-remonstrants prevailing by the support of the English ministry, that which the duke had offered others, was the ground of general hatred which the Irish Roman-catholics bore his grace.

In the year 1677, the duke of Ormond was for the third time, declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was received by the university with all possible demonstrations of respect and esteem by that learned and loyal body, and with very great ceremony by the earl of Essex, who was to resign the sword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the great hospital for soldiers; erected Charles-fort, to secure the harbour of Kinsale; and employed the greatest part of his time in detecting

detecting frauds in the revenue; which, as also the forces of the kingdom, he considerably augmented for the security thereof.

His majesty, at this time thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into the posts of power and credit; to which end he desired the duke to resign his post of lord-steward of the household. The account of the popish-plot being sent by his grace, with its extending to Ireland, and a design upon his own life, occasioned his issuing proclamations necessary for the security of that kingdom, and taking other proper methods to that end. Though the duke used very necessary precautions to prevent the threatened commotions, yet his moderation not agreeing with more violent tempers, a design of assassinating his grace was strongly rumoured, and letters to that purpose dropt in the streets, in hopes that his own security might push him on to severities; but his firmness of mind was not to be shaken; and he made use of no harsher means than what were necessary, had the imaginary danger been real; except against Tories, or common robbers and murderers, in the persons of their relations, who protected or concealed them.

The lord Shaftsbury (to whose views the duke, in retaining the government of Ireland, was a main obstacle) in a speech to the lord's house, insinuated that his grace was popishly inclined. This attack from him made the duke's

duke's friends apprehend farther designs against him, and give him their advice to come to England. He accordingly wrote to Mr. secretary Coventry for his majesty's permission ; but the answer his majesty gave, was, He had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and was resolved to keep it so. It was, however, reported that the duke was to be removed ; and lord Arlington asked his majesty, If such a report was true : he answered, It was a damned lie ; and, that he was satisfied while he, the duke of Ormond, was there, that kingdom was safe.

The king, convinced, to demonstration, of the design of setting up a commonwealth a second time, resolving to exert himself, would have brought lord Shaftsbury to his trial ; but the grand-jury refused to find the bill upon the strongest evidence.

This infamous partiality, however, answered the king's views, by opening the eyes of the people ; which was so fatal to the Republicans that they could never recover the blow. His majesty's resolution to assert his authority, extricated him out of all his difficulties, and lessened those under which the duke had long struggled ; and, as the ferment abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland ; where, all being hushed into a calm, his grace had an opportunity, the king having sent for him, to cross to England, leaving his son, the earl of Aran, lord deputy.

He

He received the compliments of, and presents from, every town through which he passed from Chester to London; into which he was ushered by a great number of persons of distinction. In his entry he was attended by twenty seven coaches and six, three hundred gentlemen on horseback, five of the king's trumpets, the serjeant-trumpet, and a kettle-drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception by his majesty, and was immediately sworn of the privy council.

The city of London had been poisoned with republican principles, and the dependance that set of men had on juries, encouraged them openly to avow their designs to overturn the constitution. The duke was indefatigable in his endeavours to defeat the designs of the anti-monarchical faction. He saw nothing less than the whole constitution at stake; and these endeavours were not only well understood by, but extremely grateful to, his majesty, who made him an English duke on the ninth of November.

In 1633, the Rye-house plot was the last recourse, after the faction had in vain tried to get a parliament called before they had lost all influence. The king reflecting on the end designed by, and the generality of persons concerned in it, said, in his reflections in the intended assassination, That it was very strange beggars should contend for property, atheists for religion, and bastards for succession.

On the ninth of April, this year, the castle of Dublin was burnt; but the indefatigable care of the lord-deputy saved the magazine, and consequently the city from being buried in its ruins. The duke's loss in furniture, &c. was very considerable.

The king's affairs being so well established in England, that there was not any necessity for his grace's absence from his government, after two years stay at court, having, in June, received orders for his return, set out for Ireland; but his departure was, by the death of his duchess, retarded till August.

No sooner had he left London, but he was attacked on some suggestions from colonel Talbot: who made such a report to the king, that a general reformation in the council, magistracy, and army of Ireland, was determined; and his grace, on the fifth of September, had a hint from Sir Robert Southwell of his removal. In October, the king intimated his pleasure on this head, and of lord Rochester's succeeding to his post.

On the sixth of February king Charles died; and the duke, four days after, being sent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having first caused king James to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, laid down his character; which was a treatment he had little reason to expect, and an indignity the late king would not have put upon him.

He set out for England, and on the road met the news of his regiment of horse being

given to colonel Talbot ; but, notwithstanding these affronts from court, he was, when near London, met by numbers of coaches, and received at his house by a multitude and loud acclamations. He was continued lord-steward of the household, and at the coronation again carried the crown.

The lord Clarendon succeeded to the lieutenancy of Ireland ; but, after a year, was recalled to make way for colonel Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, who made great changes both in the civil and military ; and the duke lost his regiment of foot ; though he kept his regiment of horse, which he had purchased fifty years before ; and this was the only military employment he held.

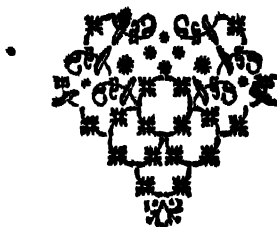
In February, 1686, the duke retired for some weeks to Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, a seat of lord Clarendon's lent him ; and, in August, attended his majesty in his progress as far as Bristol. He after this withstood the first instance of his majesty's exercising a dispensing power ; and, when the king felt his pulse on the design of abolishing the penal laws, he found him unalterably steady in his aversion to what he foresaw would be contrary to his majesty's interest, though it might flatter the king's inclinations.

The duke being laid up with the gout at Badminton, had the honour of two visits from the king, in going from Bath to Chester, and at his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and dispensed with his attendance at court,

JAMES BUTLER. 47

court, as lord-steward ; from which he would not remove him. His grace removed from Badminton, and hired a seat in Dorsetshire called Kingston-hall, where he died on the twenty-first of July ; and, on the fourth of August, his corpse was deposited in Westminster-abbey.

What has been already said of this great man, renders a character of him needless.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN WILMOT

IT is an observation founded on experience, that the poets have, of all other men, been most addicted to the gratifications of appetite, and have pursued pleasure with more unwearying application than men of other characters. In this respect they are indeed unhappy, and have ever been more subject to pity than envy. A violent love of pleasure, if it does not destroy, yet, in a great measure, enervates all all other good qualities with which a man may be endowed: and, as no men have ever enjoyed finer parts from nature than the poets, so few are so much afflicted by this unhappy attachment to pleasure, which effects so little good by those amazing powers. Of the truth of this observation, the reader, who has perused the *Memoirs* of the late Lord, will be fully convinced. The *Memoirs* of the late Lord, which we are now to present to the reader, is a strong and indelible instance, for few ever had more ability, and more frequent opportunities, for promoting the interests of society; and none ever prostituted the gifts of Heaven to a more inglorious purpose.

Lord Rochester was not more remarkable for the superiority of his parts, than the extraordinary



J. Smith del.
John Earl of Rochester.)

ordinary debauchery of his life ; and, with his dissipation of pleasure, he suffered sometimes malevolent principles to govern him : and was equally odious for malice and envy, as for the boundless gratifications of his appetites.

This is, no doubt, the character of his lordship, confirmed by all who have transmitted any account of him ; but, if his life was supremely wicked, his death was exemplary pious : before he approached to the conclusion of his days, he saw the follies of his former pleasures ; he lived to repent with the severest contrition ; and charity obliges all men to believe, that he was as sincere in his protestations of penitence, as he had been before in libertine indulgence. The apparent sorrow he felt, arising from the stings and compunctions of conscience, entitle him to the reader's compassion, and has determined us to represent his errors with all imaginable tenderness ; which, as it is agreeable to every benevolent man, so his lordship has a right to this indulgence, since he obliterated his faults by his penitence, and became so conspicuous an evidence on the side of virtue, by his important declarations against the charms of vice.

Lord Rochester was son of the gallant Henry lord Wilmot, who engaged with great zeal in the service of king Charles I. during the civil wars ; and was so much in favour with Charles II. that he entrusted his person to him, after the unfortunate battle of Worcester ; which

150 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

trust he discharged with so much fidelity and address, that the young king was conveyed out of England into France, chiefly by his care, application, and vigilance.

The mother of our author was of the ancient family of the St. Johns, in Wiltshire, and has been celebrated both for her beauty and parts.

In the year 1648, distinguished to posterity by the fall of Charles I. who suffered on a scaffold erected before the window of his own palace, our author was born at Dichley, near Woodstock, in the same county, the scene of many of his pleasures and of his death.

His lordship's father had the misfortune to reap none of the rewards of suffering loyalty, for he died in 1660, immediately before the restoration, leaving his son, as the principal part of his inheritance, his titles, honours, and the merit of those extraordinary services he had done the crown; but, though lord Wilmot left his son but a small estate, yet he did not suffer in his education by these means; for the economy of his mother supplied that deficiency, and he was educated suitable to his quality.

When he was at school, it is agreed by all his biographers, he gave early instances of a readiness of wit; and those shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such perfection, that

to his dying day, he retained a great relish for the masculine firmness, as well as more elegant beauties, of that language ; “ and was,” says Dr. Burnet, “ exactly versed in those authors who were the ornaments of the court of Augustus, which he read often with the peculiar delight which the greatest wits have often found in those studies.”

“ When he went to the university, the general joy which over-ran the nation upon his majesty’s return, amounted to something like distraction, and soon spread a very malignant influence through all ranks of life. His lordship tasted the pleasures of libertinism, which then broke out in a full tide, with too acute a relish, and was almost overwhelmed in the abyss of wantonness.

His tutor was Dr. Blandford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester; and under his inspection he was committed to the more immediate care of Phineas Berry, fellow of Whadham-college, a man of learning and probity, whom his lordship afterwards treated with much respect, and rewarded as became a great man ; but, notwithstanding the care of his tutor, he had so deeply engaged in the dissipations of the general jubilee, that he could not be prevailed upon to renew his studies, which were totally lost in the joys more agreeable to his inclination. He never thought of resuming again the pursuit of knowledge, till the fine address of his govern-

nor, Dr. Balfour, won him in his travels, by degrees, to those charms of study which he had, through youthful levity, forsaken; and, being seconded by reason, now more strong, and a more mature taste of the pleasure of learning, which the doctor took care to place in the most agreeable and advantageous light, he became enamoured of knowledge, in the pursuit of which he often spent those hours he sometimes stole from the witty and the fair.

He returned from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantage as any young nobleman ever did. He had a graceful and well-proportioned person, was master of the most refined breeding, and possessed a very obliging and easy manner. He had a vast vivacity of thought, and a happy flow of expression; and all who conversed with him entertained the highest opinion of his understanding; and indeed it is no wonder he was so much caressed at a court which abounded with men of wit, countenanced by a merry prince, who relished nothing so much as brilliant conversation.

Soon after his lordship's return from his travels, he took the first occasion that offered to hazard his life in the service of his country.

In the winter of the year 1665, he went to sea with the earl of Sandwich, when he was sent

sent out against the Dutch East-India fleet, and was in the ship called the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen, in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port.

"It was," says Burnet, "as desperate an attempt as ever was made; and, during the whole action, the earl of Rochester shewed as brave and resolute a courage as possible. A person of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly; nor did the rigour of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like the very next occasion; for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea-fight of that year; in which almost all the volunteers that went in that ship were killed. During the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not easily find a person that would undertake to venture through so much danger to carry his command to the captain, this lord offered himself to the service, and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to Sir Edward; which was much commended by all who saw it."

These are the early instances of courage which can be produced in favour of lord Rochester, which was afterwards impeached, and very justly; for, in many private broils, he discovered a timid, pusillanimous spirit, very unsuitable to those noble instances of the contrary which have just been mentioned.

The author of his life, prefixed to his works, which goes under the name of M. St. Evremond, addressed to the duchess of Mazarine, but which M. Maizeau asserts not to be his, accounts for it, upon the general observation of that disparity between a man and himself, upon different occasions. "Let it suffice," says he, "to observe, that we differ not from one another more than we do from ourselves at different times." But we imagine another, and a stronger, reason may be given, for the cowardice which Rochester afterwards discovered in private broils, particularly in the affair between him and the earl of Mulgrave, in which he behaved very meanly. The courage which lord Rochester shewed in a naval engagement, was in the early part of his life, before he had been immersed into those labyrinths of excess and luxury into which he afterwards sunk.

It is certainly a true observation that guilt makes cowards; a man who is continually subjected to the reproaches of conscience, who is afraid to examine his heart lest it should appear too horrible, cannot have much courage; for, while he is conscious of so many errors to be

be repented of, of so many vices he has committed, he naturally starts at danger, and flies from it as his greatest enemy. It is true courage is sometimes constitutional; and there have been instances of men, guilty of every enormity, who have discovered a large share of it: but these have been wretches who have overcome all sense of honour, been lost to every consideration of virtue, and whose courage is like that of the lion of the desert, a kind of ferocious impulse unconnected with reason. Lord Rochester had certainly never overcome the reproaches of his conscience, whose alarming voice at last struck terror into his heart, and chilled the fire of the spirits.

Since his travels and naval expeditions, he seemed to have contracted a habit of temperance; in which had he been so happy as to persevere, he must have escaped that fatal rock, on which he afterwards split, upon his return to court, where love and pleasure kept their perpetual rounds, under the smiles of a prince whom nature had fitted for all the enjoyments of the most luxurious desires. In times so dissolute as these, it is no wonder if a man of so warm a constitution as Rochester could not resist the too flattering temptations, which were heightened by the participation of the court in general.

The uncommon charms of Rochester's conversation, induced all men to court him as a

companion, though they often paid too dear for their curiosity, by being made the subject of his lampoons, if they happened to have any oddities in their temper, by the exposing of which he could humour his propensity to scandal. His pleasant extravagancies soon became the subject of general conversation; by which his vanity was at once flattered, and his turn of satire rendered more keen, by the success it met with.

Rowley had certainly a true talent for satire, and he spared neither friends nor foes, but let it loose on all without discrimination. Majesty itself was no safe retreat; he more than once lampooned the king, whose weakness and attachment to some of his mistresses he endeavoured to cure, by several means; that is, either by withdrawing them from him, in spite of the indulgence and liberality they felt from a royal parent, or by directly lampooning them and him on various occasions; which the king, who was a man of wit and pleasure as well as his lordship, took for the natural sallies of his genius, and meant rather as the amusements of his fancy than as the efforts of malice; yet, either by too frequent repetition, or a too close and poignant virulence, the king banished him the court for a satire made directly on him. This satire consists of twenty-eight stanzas, and is entitled, *The Restoration*; or, *The History of the Insipids*: and, as it contains the keenest reflections

against

against the political conduct, and private character, of that prince, and having produced the banishment of this noble lord, we shall here give it a place ; by which his lordship's genius for this kind of writing will appear.

The RESTORATION ; or, The History
of INSIFIDS ; a Lampoon.

I.

Charles, pious and just, Charles the Second,
The mirror of the nation,
May like to them who were once reckon'd,
Rais'd on the ruins of the nation ;
The wish'd-for monarch from Heaven sent,
Became their curse and torment.

The virtues of thy Charles, coherent,
Altho' thy countenance be an odd piece,
Prove thee as true a God's viceregent,
As e'er was Henry with his cod-piece ;
For chastity, and pious deeds,
His grandfire Harry Charles exceeds.

III.

Our Romish bondage-breaker, Harry,
Espoused half a dozen wives ;
Charles only one resolv'd to marry,
And other mens he never — :

#59 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Yet has he sons and daughters more
Than e'er had Harry by threescore.

IV.

Never was such a faith's defender ;
He, like a politic prince, and pious,
Gives liberty to conscience tender,
And does to no religion tie us !
Jews, Christians, Turks, Papists, he'll ;
With Moses, Mahomet, or Jesus.

V.

In all affairs of church or state
He very zealous is, and able ;
Devout at prayers, and sits up late
At the cabal and council-table.
His very dog, at council-board,
Sits grave and wise as any lord.

VI.

Let Charles's policy no man flout,
The wisest kings have all some folly ;
Nor let his piety any doubt ;
Charles, like a sov'reign, wise and holy,
Makes young men judges of the bench,
And bishops, those that love a wench.

VII.

His father's foes he does reward,
Preserving those that cut off's head ;
Old cavaliers, the crown's best guard,
He lets them starve for want of bread.
Never

Never was any king endow'd
With so much grace and gratitude..

VIII.

Blood, that wears treason in his face,
Villain compleat in parson's gown,
How much is he at court in grace,
For stealing Ormond and the crown !
Since loyalty does no man good,
Let's steal the king, and out-do Blood.

IX.

A parliament of knaves and fots
(Members by name you must not mention)
He keeps in pay, and buys their votes,
Here, with a place, there with a pension :
When to give money, he can't cologue 'em,
He does, with scorn, prerogue, prorogue 'em,

X.

But they, long since, by too much giving,
Undid, betray'd, and sold the nation,
Making their memberships a living
Better than e'er was sequestration.
God give thee, Charles, a resolution
To damn the knaves by dissolution..

XI.

Fame is not grounded on success,
Tho' victories were Cæsar's glory ;
Lost battles make not Pompey less,
But left him stiled great in story.

160 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

Malicious fate does oft devise
To beat the brave, and fool the wise.

XII.

Charles, in the first Dutch war, stood fair;
To have been sov'reign of the deep,
When Opdam blew up in the air,
Had not his highness gone to sleep:
Our fleet slack'd sails, fearing his waking,
'The Dutch had else been in sad taking.

XIII.

The Bergen business was well said,
Tho' we paid dear for that design;
Had we not three days parling stay'd
The Dutch fleet there, Charles, had been
thine;
Tho' the false Dane agreed to sell 'em,
He cheated us, and saved Skellum.

XIV.

Had not Charles sweetly chous'd the states,
By Bergen-baffle grown more wise;
And made 'em shiver as small as rats,
By their rich Smyrna fleet's surprize:
Had haughty Holmes but call'd in Spragg,
Hans had been put into a bag.

XV. Mist.

XV.

Mists, storms, short victuals, adverse winds,
 And once the navy's wise division,
 Defeated Charles's best designs,
 'Till he became his foes derision :
 But he had swing'd the Dutch at Chatham,
 Had he had ships but to come at 'em.

XVI.

Our Black Heath host, without dispute,
 (Rais'd, put on board, why? no man knows)
 Must Charles have render'd absolute
 Over his subjects, or his foes ;
 Has not the French king made us fools,
 By taking Maëstricht with our tools ?

XVII.

But, Charles, what could thy policy be,
 To run so many sad disasters ;
 To join thy fleet with false d'Estrees
 To make the French of Holland masters ?
 Was't Carewell, brother James, or Teague,
 That made thee break the Triple League ?

XVIII.

Could Robin Viner have foreseen
 The glorius triumphs of his master ,
 The Wool-church statue gold had been,
 Which now is made of alabaster :

But

162 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

But wise men think, had it been wood,
'Twere for a bankrupt king too good.

XIX.

Those that the fabric well consider,
Do of it diversly discourse;
Some pass their censure on the rider,
Others their judgment on the horse;
Most say, the steed's a goodly thing,
But all agree, 'tis a lewd king.

XX.

By the lord-mayor and his grave coxcombs,
Freeman of London Charles is made;
Then to Whitehall a rich gold box comes;
Which was bestow'd on the French jade*;
But wonder not it should be so, sirs,
When monarchs rank themselves with Grocers.

XXI.

Cringe, scrape no more, ye city-fops,
Leave off your feasting and fine speeches;
Beat up your drums, shut up your shops,
The courtiers then will kiss your breeches.
Arm'd, tell the popish duke that rules,
You're free-born subjects, not French moles.

* The duchess of Portsmouth.

XXII.

New upstarts, bastards, pimps, and whores,
 'That, locust-like, devour the land,
 By shutting up th' Exchequer-doors,
 When there our money was trapann'd,
 Have render'd Charles's restoration
 But a small blessing to the nation.

XXIII.

Then, Charles, beware thy brother York,
 Who to thy government gives law;
 If once we fall to the old sport,
 You must again both to Breda;
 Where, spite of all that would restore you,
 Crown'd wise by wrongs, we should abhor you.

XXIV.

If, of all Christian blood the guilt
 Cries loud of vengeance unto Heav'n,
 That sea by treach'rous Lewis spilt,
 Can never be by God forgiv'n:
 Whose scourge unto his subjects, lord!
 Than pest'lence, famine, fire, or sword,

XXV.

That false rapacious wolf of France,
 The scourge of Europe, and its curse,
 Who at his subjects cries does dance,
 And studies how to make them worse;

164 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

To say such kings, Lord, rule by Thee,
Were most prodigious blasphemy.

XXVI.

Such know no law, but their own lust;
Their subjects substance, and their blood,
They count it tribute due and just,
Still spent and spilt for subjects good.
If such kings are by God appointed,
The devil may be the Lord's anointed.

XXVII.

Such kings! curs'd be the pow'r and name;
Let all the world henceforth abhor 'em;
Monsters, which knaves sacred proclaim,
And then, like slaves, fall down before 'em,
What can there be in kings divine?
The most are wolves, goats, sheep, or swine.

XXVIII.

Then farewell, sacred majesty,
Let's pull all brutish tyrants down;
Where men are born, and still live, free,
There ev'ry head doth wear a crown;
Mankind, like miserable frogs,
Prove wretched, king'd by storks and dogs.

Much.

Much about this time, the duke of Buckingham was under disgrace for things of another nature ; and, being disengaged from any particular attachment in town, he and lord Rochester resolved, like Don Quixote of old, to set out in quest of adventures ; and they met with some which will appear entertaining to our readers, which we shall give upon the authority of the author of Rochester's life, prefixed to his works. Among many other adventures, the following was one :

There happened to be an inn on New-market road to be lett ; they disguised themselves in proper habits for the persons they were to assume, and jointly took this inn, in which each in his turn officiated as master : but they soon made this subservient to purposes of another nature.

Having carefully observed the pretty girls in the country with whom they were most captivated, (they considered not whether they were maids, wives, or widows) and to gain opportunities of seducing them, they invited their neighbours, who had either wives or daughters, to frequent feasts ; where the men were plied hard with good liquor, and the women sufficiently warmed to make but as little resistance as would be agreeable to their inclinations, dealing out their poison to both sexes, inspiring the men with wine and other strong liquors, and the women with love. Thus they were able to desflower many a virgin, and
alienate

alienate the affections of many a wife by this odd stratagem; and it is difficult to say, whether it is possible for two men to live to a worse purpose.

It is natural to imagine that this kind of life could not be of long duration. Feasts so frequently given, and that without any thing to pay, must give a strong suspicion that the inn-keepers would soon break; or, that they were of such fortune and circumstance, as did not well suit the post they were in. This their lordships were sensible of, but not much concerned about it, since they were seldom found long to continue in the same sort of adventures, variety being the life of their enjoyments. It was, besides, near the time of his majesty's going to Newmarket when they designed, that the discovery of their real plots should clear them of the imputation of being concerned in any more pernicious to the government.

These two conjectures meeting they thought themselves obliged to dispatch two important adventures, which they had not yet been able to compass.

There was an old covetous miser in the neighbourhood, who, notwithstanding his age, was in possession of a very agreeable young wife. Her husband watched her with the same assiduity he did his money, and never trusted her out of his sight but under the protection of an old maiden sister, who never had herself

self experienced the joys of love, and bore no great benevolence to those who were young and handsome.

Our noble inn-keepers had no manner of doubt of his accepting a treat, as many had done, for he loved good living with all his heart when it cost him nothing ; and, except upon these occasions, he was the most temperate and abstemious man alive : but, when they could never prevail with him to bring his wife, notwithstanding they urged the presence of so many good wives in the neighbourhood to keep her company, all their study was then how to deceive the old sister at home, who was set as a guardian over that fruit which the miser could neither eat himself, nor suffer any other to taste ; but such a difficulty as this was soon to be overcome by such inventions.

It was therefore agreed that lord Rochester should be dressed in women's cloaths, and, while the husband was feasting with my lord duke, he should make trial of his skill with the old woman at home. He had learned that she had no aversion to the bottle when she could come secretly and conveniently at it. Equipped like a country lass, and furnished with a bottle of spiritous liquors, he marched to the old miser's house.

It was with difficulty he found means to speak with the old woman, but at last obtained the favour ; where, perfect in all the cant of
those

those people, he began to tell the occasion of his coming, in hopes she would invite him to come in, but all in vain; he was admitted no farther than the porch, with the house-door ajar. At last, my lord, finding no other way, fell upon this expedient: he pretended to be taken suddenly ill, and tumbled upon the threshold. This noise brings the young wife to them, who, with much trouble, persuades her keeper to help her into the house, in regard to the decorum of her sex and the unhappy condition she was in.

The door had not been long shut before our impostor, by degrees, recovers; and, being set on a chair, cants a very religious thanksgiving to the good gentlewoman for her kindness; and observed how deplorable it was to be subject to such fits, which often took her in the street, and exposed her to many accidents; but every now and then took a sip of the bottle, and recommended it to the old benefactress, who was sure to drink a hearty dram. His lordship had another bottle in his pocket qualified with opium, which would sooner accomplish his desire by giving the woman a somniferous dose, which drinking with greediness she soon fell fast asleep.

His lordship having so far succeeded, and being fired with the presence of the young wife, for whom he had formed this odd scheme, his desires became impetuous, which produced a change of colour, and made the
artless

artless creature imagine the fit was returning. My lord then asked if she would be so charitable as to let him lie down on the bed. The good-natured young woman shewed him the way; when, he being laid down, and she staying by him at his request, he put her in mind of her condition, asking about her husband, whom the young woman painted in his true colours, as a surly, jealous old tyrant. The rural innocent, imagining she had only a woman with her, was less reserved in her behaviour and expressions on that account, and his lordship soon found that a tale of love would not be unpleasing to her. Being now no longer able to curb his appetite, which was wound up beyond the power of restraint, he declared his sex to her, and, without much struggling, enjoyed her.

He now became as happy as indulgence could make him; and, when the first transports were over, he contrived the escape of this young adultress from the prison of her keeper. She hearkened to his proposals with pleasure, and, before the old gentlewoman was awake, she robbed her husband of an hundred and fifty pieces, and marched off with lord Rochester to the inn about midnight.

They were to pass over three or four fields before they could reach it; and, in going over the last, they very near escaped falling into the enemy's hands; but the voice of the

570 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

husband discovering who he was, our adventurers struck down the field out of the path; and, for the greater security, lay down in the grass. The place, the occasion, and the person that was so near, put his lordship in mind of renewing his pleasure, almost in sight of the cuckold. The fair was no longer coy, and easily yielded to his desires. He, in short, carried the girl home, and then prostituted her to the duke's pleasure, after he had been cloyed himself.

The old man going home, and finding his sister asleep, his wife fled, and his money gone, was thrown into a state of madness and soon changed himself.

The news was soon spread about the neighbourhood, and reached the inn, where both lovers, now as weary of their purchase as desirous of it before, advised her to go to London; with which she complied, and, in all probability, followed there the trade of prostitution for a subsistence.

The king, soon after this infamous adventure, coming that way, found them both in their posts at the inn, took them again into favour, and suffered them to go with him to Newmarket.

This exploit of lord Rochester is not at all improbable when his character is considered; his treachery in the affair of the miser's wife is very like him; and surely it was one of the greatest acts of baseness of which he was ever guilty;

guilty : he artfully seduced her, while her unsuspecting husband was entertained by the duke of Buckingham ; he contrived a robbery, and produced the death of the injured husband. This complicated crime was one of those heavy charges on his mind when he lay on his death-bed, under the dreadful alarms of his conscience.

His lordship's amours at court made a great noise in the world of gallantry, especially that which he had with the celebrated Mrs. Roberts, mistress to the king, whom she abandoned for the possession of Rochester's heart, which she found, to her experience, it was not in her power long to hold. The earl, who was soon cloyed with the possession of any one woman, though the fairest in the world, soon forsook her : the lady, after the first indignation of her passion subsided, grew as indifferent, and considered upon the proper means of retrieving the king's affections.

The occasion was luckily given her one morning while she was dressing ; she saw the king coming by, she hurried down with her hair disheveled, threw herself at his feet, implored his pardon, and vowed constancy for the future. The king, overcome with the well-dissembled agonies of this beauty, raised her up, took her in his arms, and protested no man could see her and not love her. He waited on her to her lodging, and there completed the reconciliation.

This easy behaviour of the king, had, with many other instances of the same kind, determined my lord Hallifax to assert, That the love of king Charles II. lay as much as any man's in the lower regions; that he was indifferent as to their constancy, and only valued them for the sensual pleasures they could yield.

Lord Rochester's frolics in the character of a mountebank are well known; and the speech which he made upon the occasion of his first turning itinerant doctor, has been often printed; there is in it a true spirit of satire, and a keenness of lampoon which is very much in the character of his lordship, who had certainly an original turn for invective and satirical composition.

We shall give the following short extract from this celebrated speech, in which his lordship's wit appears very conspicuous.

“ If I appear, says Alexander Bendo, to any one like a counterfeit, even for the sake of that, cheifly, ought I to be construed a true man, who is the counterfeit's example, his original, and that which he employs his industry and pains to imitate and copy. Is it therefore my fault if the cheat, by his wit and endeavours, makes himself so like me, that, consequently, I cannot avoid resembling him? Consider, pray, the valiant and the coward, the wealthy merchant and the bankrupt, the politician and the fool; they are the same in
many

many things, and differ but in one alone; the valiant man holds up his hand, looks confidently round about him, wears a sword, courts a lord's wife, and owns it; so does the coward. One only point of honour, and that's courage, which (like false metal, one only trial can discover) makes the distinction. The bankrupt walks the exchange, buys bargains, draws bills, and accepts them with the richest, whilst paper and credit are current coin; that which makes the difference is real cash; a great defect indeed, and yet but one, and that the last found out, and still till then the least perceived.——Now for the politician; he is grave, deliberating, close, prying man: May are there not grave, deliberating, close prying fools? If therefore the difference betwixt all these, though infinite in effect, be so nice in all appearance, will you yet expect it should be otherwise between the false physician, adulterer, &c. and the true? The first calls himself learned doctor, sends forth his bills, gives physic and council, tells and foretells; the other is bound to do just as much. It is only your experience must distinguish betwixt them, to which I willingly submit myself."

When lord Rochester was restored again to the favour of king Charles II. he continued the same extravagant pursuits of pleasure, and would even use freedoms with that prince, whom he had before so much offended; for his

satire knew no bounds, his invention was lively, and his execution sharp.

He is supposed to have contrived with one of Charles's mistress's the following stratagem to cure that monarch of the nocturnal rambles to which he addicted himself. He agreed to go out one night with him to visit a celebrated house of intrigue, where he told his majesty the finest women in England were to be found. The king made no scruple to assume his usual disguise and accompany him; and, while he was engaged with one of the ladies of pleasure, being before instructed by Rochester how to behave, she picked his pocket of all his money and watch; which the king did not immediately miss. Neither the people of the house, nor the girl herself, was made acquainted with the quality of their visiter, nor had the least suspicion who he was.

When the intrigue was ended, the king enquired for Rochester, but was told he had quitted the house without taking leave. But into what embarrassment was he thrown when, upon searching his pockets, in order to discharge the reckoning, he found his money gone. He was then reduced to ask the favour of the jezebel to give him credit till to-morrow, as the gentleman who came in with him had not returned, who was to have paid for both.

The consequence of this request was, he was abused and laughed at; and the old woman
told

told him, that she had often been served such dirty tricks, and would not permit him to stir till the reckoning was paid, and then called one of her bullies to take care of him. In this ridiculous distress stood the British monarch, the prisoner of a bawd, and the life upon whom the nation's hopes were fixed, put in the power of a ruffian.

After many altercations, the king at last proposed, that she should accept a ring which he then took off his finger, in pledge for her money; which she likewise refused, and told him, that, as she was no judge of the value of the ring, she did not chuse to accept such pledges. The king then desired that a jeweller might be called to give his opinion of the value of it; but he was answered, that the expedient was impracticable, as no jeweller could then be supposed to be out of bed.

After much entreaty, his majesty, at last, prevailed upon the fellow to knock up a jeweller and shew him the ring; which, as soon as he had inspected, he stood amazed, and enquired, with eyes fixed upon the fellow, who he had got in his house? To which he answered, A black-looking ugly son of a w--e who had no money in his pocket, and was obliged to pawn his ring. "The ring," says the jeweller, "is so immensely rich, that but one man in the nation could afford to wear it, and that one is the king."

176 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The jeweller, being astonished at this accident, went out with the bully, in order to be fully satisfied of so extraordinary an affair; and, as soon as he entered the room, he fell on his knees, and, with the utmost respect, presented the ring to his majesty. The old jezebel and the bully, finding the extraordinary quality of their guest, were now confounded, and asked pardon most submissively on their knees. The king, in the best natured manner, forgave them; and, laughing, asked them, whether the ring would not bear another bottle.

Thus ended this adventure, in which the king learned how dangerous it was to risk his person in night-frolics; and could not but severely reprove Rochester for acting such a part towards him; however he sincerely resolved never again to be guilty of the like indiscretion.

These are the most material of the adventures, and libertine courses of the lord Rochester, which historians and biographers have transmitted to posterity; we shall now consider him as an author.

He seems to have been too strongly tinctured with that vice which belongs more to literary people, than to any other profession under the sun; viz. envy. That lord Rochester was envious, and jealous of the reputation of other men of eminence, appears abundantly clear from his behaviour to Dryden, which could
proceed

proceed from no other principle; as his malice towards him had never discovered itself till the tragedies of that great poet met with such general applause, and his poems were universally esteemed.

Such was the inveteracy he shewed to Mr. Dryden, that he set up John Crown, an obscure man, in opposition to him, and recommended him to the king to compose a masque for the court, which was really the business of the poet-laureat; but, when Crown's *Conquest of Jerusalem* met with as extravagant success as Dryden's *Almanzor's*, his lordship then withdrew his favour from Crown, as if he would be still in contradiction to the public.

His malice to Dryden is said to have still further discovered itself in hiring ruffians to cudgel him for a satire he was supposed to be the author of; which was at once, malicious, cowardly, and cruel.

Mr. Wolsley, in his preface to *Valentinian*, a tragedy, altered by lord Rochester from Fletcher, has given a character of his lordship and his writings, by no means consistent with that idea which other writers, and common tradition dispose us to form of him.

"He was a wonderful man," says he, "whether we consider the constant good sense, and agreeable mirth, of his ordinary conversation, or the vast reach and compass of his inventions, and the amazing depth of his

178 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

retired thoughts; the uncommon graces of his fashion, or the inimitable turns of his wit, the becoming gentleness, the bewitching softness of his civility, or the force and fitness of his satire; for, as he was both the delight, the love, and the dotage of the women, so was he a continued curb to impertinence, and the public censure of folly: never did man stay in his company unentertained, or leave it uninstructed; never was his understanding biased, or his pleasantness forced; never did he laugh in the wrong place, or prostitute his sense to serve his luxury; never did he stab into the wounds of fallen virtue, with a base and a cowardly insult, or smooth the face of prosperous villainy with the paint and washes of a mercenary wit; never did he spare a fop for being rich, or flatter a knave for being great.

“ He had a wit that was accompanied with an unaffected greatness of mind, and a natural love to justice and truth; a wit that was in perpetual war with knavery, and ever attacking those kind of vices most whose malignity was like to be the most diffusive, such as tended more immediately to the prejudice of public bodies, and were a common nuisance to the happiness of human kind.

“ Never was his pen drawn but on the side of good sense, and usually employed like the arms of the ancient heroes, to stop the progress of arbitrary oppression, and beat down the brutishness

brutishness of head-strong will to do his king; and country justice upon such public state thieves as would beggar a kingdom to enrich themselves: these were the vermin whom, to his eternal honour, his pen was continually pricking and goading: a pen, if not so happy in the success, yet as generous in the aim, as either the sword of Theseus, or the club of Hercules; nor was it less sharp than that, or less weighty than this.

“ If he did not take so much care of himself as he ought, he had the humanity, however, to wish well to others; and I think I may truly affirm, he did the world as much good by a right application of satire, as he hurt himself by a wrong pursuit of pleasure.”

In this amiable light has Mr. Wolsely drawn our author; and nothing is more certain than that it is a portraiture of the imagination, warmed with gratitude, or friendship, and bears but little or no resemblance to that of Rochester. Can he whose satire is always levelled at particular persons, be said to be the terror of knaves, and the public foe of vice; when he himself has acknowledged that he satirized only to gratify his resentment; for it was his opinion, that writing satires without being in a rage, was like killing in cold blood? Was his conversation instructive whose mouth was full of obscenity? and was he a friend to his country, who diffused a dangerous venom through his works to cor-

rupt its members ; in which, it is to be feared he has been but too successful ? Did he ever smooth the face of prosperous villainy, as Mr. Wolsely expresses it, the scope of whose life was to promote and encourage the most licentious debauchery, and to unhinge all the principles of honour ?

Either Mr. Wolsely must be strangely mistaken, or all other writers who have given us accounts of Rochester must be so ; and, as his single assertions are not equal to the united authorities of so many, we may reasonably reject his testimony as a deviation from truth.

We have now seen those scenes of my lord Rochester's life, in which he appears to little advantage. It is with infinite pleasure we can take a view of the brighter side of his character ; to do which we must attend him to his death-bed. Had he been the amiable man Mr. Wolsely represents him, he needed not have suffered so many pangs of remorse, nor felt the horrors of conscience, nor been driven almost to despair by his reflections on a mis-spent life.

Rochester lived a profligate, but he died a penitent. He lived in defiance of all principles ; but, when he felt the cold hand of death upon him, he reflected on his folly, and saw, that the portion of iniquity is, at last, sure to be only pain and anguish.

Dr. Burnet,

JOHN WILMOT. 181

Dr. Burnet, the excellent bishop of Sarum (however he may be reviled by a party) with many other obligations conferred upon the world, has added some account of lord Rochester in his dying moments. No state-policy, in this case, can be well supposed to have biassed him ; and when there are no motives to falsehood, it is somewhat cruel to discredit assertions. The doctor could not be influenced by views of interest to give this, or any other, account of his lordship ; and could certainly have no other incentive but that of serving his country, by shewing the instability of vice, and, by drawing into light an illustrious penitent, adding one wreath more to the banners of virtue.

Burnet begins with telling us, that an accident fell out in the early part of the earl's life which in its consequences confirmed him in the pursuit of vicious courses.

“ When he went to sea, in the year 1665, there happened to be, in the same ship with him, Mr. Montague, and another gentleman of quality ; these two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague said, he was sure of it ; the other was not so positive : The earl of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that, if either of them died, he should appear and give the
other

other notice of the future state, if there was any; but Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond.

“ When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he bravely stayed all the while in the place of the greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage in the most undaunted manner till near the end of the action, when he fell, on a sudden, into such a trembling that he could scarce stand, and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon ball carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he expired in an hour after.”

The earl of Rochester told Dr. Burnet, that these presages they had in their minds, made some impression on him that there were separate beings; and, that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination. But this gentleman's never appearing was a snare to him during the rest of his life: though when he mentioned this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him to think that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits that they could not command their motion but as the Supreme Power should order them; and, that one who
had

had so corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reason to expect that miracles should be wrought for his conviction

He told Dr. Burnet another odd presage of approaching death, in lady Ware, his mother-in-law's family.—The chaplain had dreamed that such a day he should die; but being by all the family laughed out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it till the evening before at supper; there being thirteen at table, according to an old conceit that one of the family must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was the person. Upon this the chaplain, recalling to mind his dream, fell into some disorder, and the lady Ware reproving him for his superstition, he said, he was confident he was to die before morning; but he being in perfect health it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber, and sat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle; and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon, but was found dead in his bed next morning.

These things, his lordship said, made him incline to believe that the soul was of a substance distinct from matter; but that which convinced him of it was, that, in his last sickness, which brought him so near his death, when his spirits were so spent that he could
not

284 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

not move or stir. and did not hope to live an hour, he said his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that, from thence, he was fully persuaded, that death was not the dissolution of the soul, but only the separation of it from matter.

He had, in that sickness, great remorse for his past life; but he afterwards said, they were rather general and dark horrors than any conviction of transgression against his maker; he was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon, or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself; and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express; but believed that these impunctions of conscience rather proceeded from the horror of his condition, than any true contrition for the errors of his life.

During the time Dr. Burnet was at lord Rochester's house, they entered frequently into conversation upon the topics of natural and revealed religion; which the doctor endeavoured to enlarge upon and explain in a manner suitable to the condition of a dying penitent. His lordship expressed much contrition for his having so often violated the laws of the one, against his better knowledge, and having spurned the authority of the other in the pride of wanton sophistry.

He declared, that he was satisfied of the truth of the Christian religion, that he thought it the institution of Heaven, and afforded the
most

most natural idea of the Supreme Being, as well as the most forcible motives to virtue of any faith professed amongst men.

“ He was not only satisfied,” says Dr. Burnet, “ of the truth of our holy religion, merely as a matter of speculation, but was persuaded, likewise, of the power of inward grace ; of which he gave me this strange account :

“ He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the fifty-third chapter of the prophecies of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour’s passion ; that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done ; which the Jews that blasphemed Jesus Christ still kept in their hands as a book divinely inspired.

“ He said, as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind and convince him, that he could resist it no longer ; for the words had an authority which did shout like rays or beams into his mind ; so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding ; but, by a power, which did so effectually constrain him, that he ever after firmly believed in his Saviour, as if he had seen Him in the clouds.”

We are not quite certain whether there is not a tincture of enthusiasm in this account given by his lordship, as it is too natural to fly from one extreme to another, from the excesses of debauchery to the gloom of methodism; but, even if we suppose this to have been the case, he was certainly in the safest extreme; and there is more comfort in hearing that a man whose life had been so remarkably profligate as his, should die under such reflections, than quit the world without one pang for past offences.

The bishop gives an instance of the great alteration of his lordship's temper and dispositions, from what they were formerly, in his sickness.

"Whenever he happened to be out of order, either by pain or sickness, his temper became quite ungovernable, and his passions so fierce that his servants were afraid to approach him; but, in his last sickness, he was all humility, patience, and resignation. Once he was a little offended with the delay of a servant, who he thought made not haste enough with something he called for, and said, in a little heat, 'That damn'd fellow'

"Soon after," says the doctor, "I told him that I was glad to find his stile so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing, only that word of

calling any damned, which had returned upon him, was not decent; his answer was, 'Oh! that language of fiends, which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me; sure none has deserved more to be damned than I have done!' And, after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him that he might ask him forgiveness; but I told him that was needless, for he had said it of one who did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

"In this disposition of mind," continues the Bishop, "he remained all the while I was with him, four days together. He was then brought so low, that all hope of recovery was gone—much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with pain, but one day with inexpressible torment; yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. Nature being at last quite exhausted, and all the floods of life gone, he died, without a groan, on the twenty sixth of July, 1680, in the thirty-third year of his age.

"A day or two before his death he lay much silent, and seemed extremely devout in his contemplations. He was frequently observed to raise his eyes to Heaven, and send forth ejaculations to the Searcher of hearts, who saw his penitence, and who, he hoped, would forgive him."

Thus

Thus died lord Rochester, an amazing instance of the goodness of God, who permitted him to enjoy time, and inclined his heart to penitence. As by his life he was suffered to let an example of the most abandoned dissoluteness to the world; so, by his death, he was a very lively demonstration of the fruitlessness of vicious courses, and may be proposed, as an example, to all those who are captivated with the charms of guilty pleasure.

Let all his failings now sleep with him in the grave, and let us only think of his closing moments, his penitence and reformation. Had he been permitted to have recovered his illness, it is reasonable to presume he would have been as lively an example of virtue as he had ever been of vice, and have born his testimony in favour of our religion.

He left behind him a son named Charles, who dying on the twelfth of November, was buried by his father on the seventh of December following. He also left behind him three daughters. The male line ceasing, Charles II. conferred the title of earl of Rochester on Lawrence viscount Killingworth, a younger son of Edward earl of Clarendon.

We might now enumerate his lordship's writings, of which we have already given some character; but unhappily for the world they are too generally diffused, and we think
ourselves

JOHN WILMOT. 189

ourselves under no obligations to particularize those works which have been so fruitful of mischief to society, by promoting a general corruption of morals, and which he himself, in his last moments, wished he could recal, or, rather, that he never had composed.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.





